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ABSTRACT

A study is reported which examines the following issues: the linguistic and cultural values that the Chinese community attaches to education and to the processes and outcomes of education; and the nature of the community's involvement with school programs and the degree of match and mismatch between the school and the home culture. Data were collected from King School and Wilson School in Cherrywood, California (all fictitious names), using a case study methodology over a period of 13 months. In addition to the description of the background to the study and the methodology, a detailed report of the following is given: (1) the history of the Chinese community in Cherrywood; (2) a linguistic profile of the community; (3) a description of the two schools; (4) development of bilingual education at King School; (5) bilingual classes in grades 2, 5, and 6 at King School; (6) issues of language use and dialect choice of the bilingual program at King School; (7) language use in bilingual classrooms; (8) student outcomes; and (9) questions on the status of bilingual education at Wilson School. The study concludes with a summary and recommendations, and two appendices which provide a linguistic comparison of the Chinese dialects and observation fieldnotes of a reading lesson. (AMH)

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN A CHINESE COMMUNITY

FINAL RESEARCH REPORT

September 30, 1982

Principal Investigator:
Sau-Lim Tsang

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
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This research report is a joint effort of many individuals. The contributions of the following persons are specially noted.

John Lum took charge early in the study and conducted the survey of Chinese bilingual programs and communities for the selection of the research site.

Chui-Lim Tsang was responsible for the conceptualization and conduct of the sociolinguistic portion of the study. He supervised three research assistants, Steve Baron, Margaret Boothroyd, and Arpita Mishra, in preparing Chapters Four, Eight, Nine, and Appendix A of this report which dealt with the sociolinguistic findings. In addition, he also provided extensive input on integrating the sociolinguistic findings with other aspects of the study.

Grace Pung Guthrie was responsible for the collection of a large portion of the interview data. She was the main author of Chapter Seven and contributed to the development of Chapters Two, Four, and Eleven.

L. Eve Armentrout-Ma conducted an in-depth study of the history of the Chinese community in the research site. Chapter Three was the product of her exhaustive research effort.

Four research assistants, Elaine Chan, Wai-Lin Chang, Oy-Lene Chong, and Virginia Yee, worked diligently on the study in data collection. They spent many hours in the community and the schools to conduct participant observations and interviews.

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Joyce Coleman spent many painstaking hours in editing this report and reconciled the differences in styles and formats of the authors.

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treasured by us for many years to come. However, because of the decision to keep the research site anonymous, we regret we cannot acknowledge them each individually.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education in the United States has undergone a series of changes over the last three hundred years. In colonial America, education was the privilege of the rich, who hired tutors to teach their children privately in their homes. Gradually, church schools began to appear, serving a broader population. Then, in the early nineteenth century, citizens who had begun to appreciate the importance of education established schools funded by revenues from local governments. This innovation marked the beginning of the U.S. public education system (Katz, 1968). The goal of this system is to provide a quality education to all children, so that everyone can operate successfully in American society. As Horace Mann put it, in his 1941 "Annual Report to the Massachusetts Board of Education":

> I believe in the existence of a great, immutable principle of natural law, or natural ethics, . . . which proves the absolute right of every human being that comes into the world to an education; and which, of course, proves the correlative duty of every government to see that the means of that education are provided for all. (Cremin, 1957, p. 63)

The nineteenth-century curriculum, however, was not without its challengers, and through their challenges changes were made. In the 1920s, the progressive education movement's criticisms of the public schools initiated a series of revisions in the school curriculum, rendering it more pragmatic and better able to meet the needs of American society (Cremin, 1961). In 1957 the Soviets succeeded in launching the first space satellite, Sputnik. This technical feat inspired the U.S. to undertake a major effort to strengthen its mathematics and science curricula in the 1960s. One major result of this effort is the "new math" curriculum which is used by almost every school in the U.S. (National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 1970).

American society has been called a "melting pot"; entering it, immigrants from all over the world would shed their home cultures to emerge reborn as "Americans." America's education system served as an efficient "melting agent." Students from different cultural backgrounds, speaking different languages, were enrolled in the nation's public schools and taught a uniform curriculum in English. Many groups of European immigrants--German, French, Irish, English, Russian, and Jewish--have gone through this system and emerged as "exemplary" Americans.

However, the American education system has been less successful with other minority groups. Numerous studies have documented the inequality of treatment suffered by Blacks (see, for example, Bond, 1939) and their consequent low levels of academic achievement (Coleman, 1966; National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1979; California Assessment Program, 1980; Weinberg, 1977). In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court interceded and handed down the landmark Brown v. Board of

Education decision (347 US 483, 1954) which ruled that state-supported segregation is unconstitutional (Kirp and Yudof, 1974). From this decision grew the civil rights movement and, ultimately, the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

DEVELOPMENT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Bilingual education in the United States dates back to the 1840s, when public the first bilingual school was found in Cincinnati, as a result of pressure from the large German-speaking population. Since that time, proponents of bilingual education have encountered opposition from advocates of an English-only policy. The two camps confronted each other at the local level only until the xenophobia which accompanied World War I led some states to pass legislation which declared English the official and only language of instruction in public schools.

Events in the 1960s forced educators to become aware again of the educational problems encountered by the linguistic minority students. A flood of Cuban refugees, arriving in Southern Florida, suddenly overwhelmed the schools with hundreds of students who spoke only Spanish. Educators there began to implement bilingual instruction and the results were exciting. In 1963 a formal bilingual education program was established at the Coral Way School in Dade County, Miami.

At the same time, the nation's educators also became aware that Spanish-speaking students have achieved significantly below the national norm (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1979; Peng et al., 1981) and that their school dropout rate is close to fifty percent. Since many of these students came from families and communities which spoke mainly Spanish, it was pointed out that their failure in school might be due to the irrelevance of the standard mainstream curriculum to their home culture, and to the delivery of school instruction entirely in English. They might "also experience difficulty in school because school personnel are not aware of differences between traditional Mexican American and mainstream American middle-class cultures" (Ramirez III and Castaneda, 1974, p. 56).

Recognizing the public schools' failure to educate Mexican-American students, educators began to propose bilingual education as an alternate approach. In 1964 programs similar to that in Dade County were established for Mexican-American students in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. With the impetus of the civil rights movement, bilingual education gained momentum as its proponents claimed it was the most effective way to meet the educational needs of language minority groups. In January 1968 Congress amended the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and authorized the Title VII Bilingual Education Act. This Act provideo funds for local educational agencies to design, develop, and implement methods of bilingual education (Comptroller General of the United States, 1976, p. 1).

With the rapid increase in the number of language minority groups in the U.S. during the 1970s (Bureau of the Census, 1981), the encouragement of the federal government by the provision of funds, and a series of lawsuits mandating or recommending bilingual education for

students of limited English proficiency (Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 566, 1974; Serna v. Portales Municipal School 499 F.2d 1147, 1974; Aspira of New York, Inc. v. Board of Education of the City of New York, 72 Civ. 4002 , 1974; Rios v. Read, 73 F.R.D. 589, 1977), bilingual education flourished. By 1975, programs funded by the Title VII Bilingual Education Act were serving approximately 250,000 students. Many states with large numbers of language minorities have also enacted their own laws mandating bilingual education (e.g., Massachusetts in 1971, Texas and Illinois in 1973, and California in 1974).

CHINESE BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Chinese bilingual education also began in the nineteenth century, when Chinese immigrants first settled in the U.S. The few Chinese who had a family found that their children were not allowed into the public schools, and thus organized private schools. The curriculum in these private schools consisted mainly of Chinese classics, and the language of instruction was Chinese. The goal of these schools was to inculcate with the children traditional Chinese virtues and scholarships. When the public schools started to accept Chinese students, most of the Chinese schools changed their hours to the late afternoons or weekends. Chinese parents could thus sent their children to the public schools to learn English and other subjects and then to the private schools to study the Chinese language and culture. This was an early form of bilingual education.

Modern Chinese bilingual education began in 1968, when Title VII funds were used to establish self-contained Chinese bilingual programs in two public schools, one in New York and one in San Francisco, for LEP Chinese students. In the next several years, schools in other cities with high concentrations of Chinese, such as Los Angeles and Boston, also received funds to operate bilingual programs.

In 1970 Chinese parents in California initiated the Lau v. Nichols suit against the San Francisco Unified School District, claiming that its schools were not providing equal educational opportunity for Chinese students when they instructed them in a language they did not understand. The plaintiff further asked specifically for bilingual education to remove this inequity. The case went to the U.S. Supreme Court (414 U.S. 563, 1974), which, in 1974, mandated the San Francisco Board of Education to rectify the problem by providing services that met the special linguistic needs of Chinese students (Teitelbaum and Hiller, 1977). In the same year, Congress reauthorized the Title VII Bilingual Education Act, with an explicit intent and design to serve the nation's language-minority students.

WHAT IS BILINGUAL EDUCATION ?

Bilingual education, though it existed in colonial America and has experienced a second major growth since 1968, remains a complex and often misunderstood concept. Throughout this study, the administrators, teachers, parents, and other community people interviewed by the researchers all presented confused interpretations of bilingual

education. An analysis is thus warranted here to avoid such this confusion.

Bilingual education is generally considered to be:

> a comprehensive educational approach which involves more than just imparting English skills. Children are taught all cognitive areas, first in their native language. Oral expression and reading are developed in native language arts courses, and English is taught formally in English as a Second Language classes. . . . Instruction through English in cognitive areas begins when the child can function in that language and experiences no academic handicap due to insufficient knowledge of the language. . . .
>
> A major aspect of bilingual bicultural education is inclusion in the curriculum of the child's historical, literary, and cultural traditions for purposes of strengthening identity and sense of belonging and for making the instructional program easier to grasp (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1975, p. 29).

Educators hypothesized that bilingual education would enable Mexican-American students to learn academic subjects while developing their English proficiency. By enhancing their self-esteem the program would, in turn improve their academic achievement (Ramirez III and Castaneda, 1974).

Thus, a bilingual education program should include the following features: (1) subject instruction in both the limited-English-proficient (LEP) students' home language and in English; (2) English-language development; (3) instruction of the childrens' home language; (4) incorporation of the children's home culture in the school curriculum; and (5) adaptation of the pedagogical approach to the learning styles of the language minority students. Each or any combination of these features is supposed to be beneficial to the language minority students' cognitive and social development (LaFontaine, Persky and Golubchuck, 1978). However, if one examines existing bilingual education programs, one finds that they include anywhere from one to all five of these features. The simple question — whether or not a person supports bilingual education — becomes confusing, because it is not clear what type of bilingual education is meant nor on what the respondents will base their answers.

How do these features work?

Instruction with Home Language and English

Traditionally, LEP students have been enrolled in classes where the instruction, textbook, and curriculum are entirely in English. Immersion in an all-English environment is supposed to make the LEP students acquire their English proficiency at a rapid rate. Critics denounce this approach, saying that it is like throwing the children into a pool of water and waiting to see if they sink or swim — while some students might pick up the needed English proficiency and catch up on the other subjects, most of them would fall farther and farther behind in academic subjects because they do not understand the lan-

guage of instruction. In fact, the Lau vs. Nichol court decision was based mainly on the argument that schools which instructed the LEP student entirely in English were abridging the student's rights under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It was the opinion of the Supreme Court that "there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum, for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education" (414 U.S. 566, 1974).

Instead, bilingual educators proposed that LEP students should be taught subjects in their home language while they are acquiring English proficiency. Instruction could gradually change to English as the children became more fluent in the language. Teachers could also assist this process by gradually introducing the children to the English vocabulary required in the subjects.

English-Language Development

An English-language development component is usually an integral part of a bilingual education program. English development is incorporated into the curriculum throughout the school day. Some programs, though, set aside special English-language development lessons for their LEP students. These classes meet once a week or daily and use any one of the many language-development approaches. Many adopt the English as a second language (ESL) approach. This instruction is conducted by the bilingual teachers, usually after they have received special training, or by a specialized instructor. Students receive their instruction either in their own classroom or after being pulled out and regrouped.

It is important to recognize that the ESL instructional approach as discussed here is a component of bilingual education. It must be distinguished from the "ESL program." The latter is a program in which LEP students are enrolled in a class taught entirely in English and are pulled out occasionally for ESL instruction. Bilingual educators have downgraded this approach because, until the children acquire a functional level of English, they are at a loss during the teaching of subject matters, which is conducted entirely in English.

Home Language Instruction

The teaching of the students' home language is considered an important aspect of bilingual education. Linguists have argued that while LEP students are learning the fundamental vocabulary and rules of English, they can be taught more advanced language skills in their home language, since many of these skills are transferable from one language to another. Thus, the LEP students would not fall behind in their acquisition of language skills.

Moreover, instruction in the students' home language is a desirable feature in many language-minority communities. These communities value bilingualism for pragmatic reasons — better job opportunities, ability to communicate with parents, etc. They also show ethnic pride in maintaining their home language (see Chapter IV for a discussion of bilin-

gualism in the Cherrywood Chinese community). They feel that language is integral to and the most sacred component of their culture. Thus, communities that prize their own culture and advocates of cultural pluralism value instruction in the home language as crucial to the maintenance of the community's culture. The formalizing of the home language's instruction at school also legitimates it and raises its status. This in turn enhances the students' home-language acquisition.

Lastly, when language minority children who speak the home language at home and in the community enroll in schools where their home language is ignored, they receive the implicit message that their home language and culture are of little value. This could cause serious conflicts between the children and their family and culture, and might eventually affect their self-concept as members of a minority.

Incorporating Home Culture in the Curriculum

Since one of the main functions of schooling is the socialization of the children, culture becomes the basis for the school curriculum. The curriculum developed for mainstream American students often ignores the cultures of language-minority groups. The absence of the students' home culture from the school curriculum both alienates the students from the schools and also transmits the impression that the students' home culture is insignificant. This makes it difficult for the students to understand the school curriculum and also imparts low self-concepts to them.

Bilingual educators favor incorporating the students' home culture in the school curriculum, beginning the children's learning with experiences they are most familiar with and then expanding their knowledge based on their own culture. This approach has been suggested to make the schooling more relevant to language minority students and thus to facilitate their learning. Inclusion of the home culture in the school curriculum also conveys the idea that the students' cultural background is acceptable to U.S. society and therefore enhances their self-concept, a factor which can be correlated with the students' academic achievement.

Adaptation of Pedagogy to Students' Learning Styles

Educators have contended that children from different cultural backgrounds possess different learning styles--i.e., they learn differently. Learning will be most successful if instruction takes this fact into consideration. For example, Navajo students are accustomed to solving problems or doing projects in groups; thus, their curriculum should be designed to include many group learning activities (Goodman, 1981). Though the importance of the learning styles of minority students has been stressed repeatedly by educators, few have actually studied the exact characteristics of these different styles.

One construct of learning styles that has been mentioned frequently in relation to bilingual education is field-dependence/independence. A person who is relatively field-dependent is dominated by the overall organization of the field, whereas relatively field-independent persons

readily perceive elements as discrete from their backgrounds, from the totality of which they are a part. Field-independent persons are more analytical while field-dependent persons have better social skills. Ramirez III and Castaneda (1974) claimed that Mexican-American students are, in general, more field-dependent than Euro-American students. Since the school curriculum emphasizes subjects like mathematics, reading, and writing, which require analytical skills, Mexican-American students are penalized. Ramirez III and Castaneda recommended that school curricula and instruction for Mexican-American students be revised to accommodate their field-dependent cognitive style. However, research findings on field-dependence/independence has been inconclusive (Hsi & Lim, 1976). Some found that Mexican-American students are not all more field-dependent than Euro-Americans (DeAvila, 1978) and some found it hard to carry out the actual curriculum revision.

Despite the difficulty of identifying the exact characteristics of different learning styles, educators nevertheless acknowledge their existence and encourage practitioners to be sensitive to their significance in instructional settings. Most bilingual education programs require their teachers to be familiar with the students' home culture in order to be sensitive to the students' special demands.

Maintenance vs. Transitional Bilingual Programs

Bilingual programs are sometimes differentiated into the maintenance and the transitional types. However, this differentiation pertains only to the objectives of the programs and is often irrelevant to the instructional features. The goal of maintenance bilingual education is to develop bilingual/bicultural persons who can communicate fluently both in English and in their home language and who can function confidently in both the mainstream and the home cultures. On the other hand, transitional bilingual programs are designed to be a temporary intervention strategy; the LEP children are transited from the program into the regular classes once they acquire a certain level of English proficiency.

Bilingual Education for Whom?

There is one more complication with the objectives and the intructional features of bilingual education. While the federal and state legislation and court decisions have all treated bilingual education as a remedial intervention strategy to mainstream LEP students, many of its proponents also see it as an enrichment type of program in which all students, both LEP and fluent English-speaking, can develop another language ability in addition to English.

This dual viewpoint has caused much confusion over the design and the implementation of bilingual education programs. We will discuss later how this confusion is especially problematic for the study's Chinese community, in which there is both a large number of immigrant students who require bilingual education because they cannot understand English and an equally large number of fluent-English-speaking Chinese students whose parents send them to the bilingual program to develop their Chinese language and to maintain their culture.

EFFECTIVENESS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Despite the enthusiasm of its proponents and the wide extent of its implementation, the effectiveness of bilingual education has yet to be empirically studied. Congress originally approved Title VII in 1968 as a research and demonstration program. However, the lack of a systematic plan for research and evaluation in the early years resulted in a dearth of information to guide the effective expansion of bilingual education. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has commented: "The greatest weakness in the 1968 act was its failure to systematize means of determining success in programs funded under the act. Thus, after the first five years, little was known about what comprises successful programs or indeed what progress had been made to overcome the obstacles faced by language minority children in school" (1975, p. 172). It was not until the 1978 reauthorization of Title VII that Congress mandated a concerted effort and provided the funding for a series of studies that would systematically examine the effectiveness of bilingual education and recommend means of improving it.

RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Two assumptions are fundamental to the successful implementation of bilingual education with a linguistic minority group. The first is that bilingualism and bilingual education are valued by that group. The second is that the objectives of the bilingual program adopted by the public school are compatible with the group's needs and wants. These two assumptions reveal the critical importance of the target community's involvement in the design and implementation of bilingual programs. Fishman (1976) and Frasure-Smith et al. (1975), in studying the relationship between community and school for a few linguistic minority groups, found that their cooperation was crucial to the success of the bilingual programs. However, because the educational aspirations of ethnic communities usually differ, the results of these studies are only applicable to those particular ethnic groups and communities studied and cannot be generalized to others. As bilingual education continues to be implemented for more, and more diverse, ethnic groups, much is still unknown about "the values and aspirations for education within different ethnic groups and local communities served by existing programs, nor about how the school's goals for these programs articulate with the communities' goals" (National Institute of Education, 1979).

The present volume is an ethnographic and sociolinguistic study designed to examine the validity of the two assumptions described above for the implementation of bilingual education programs in a Chinese community. Specifically, the study: (1) examines the linguistic and cultural values which the Chinese community attaches to education, and to the processes and outcomes of education, and (2) investigates both the nature of the community's involvement with school programs and the degree of match and mismatch between the school and the home culture. The study began on June 1, 1980, with selection of the study site and preparation of the research design. Data collection began in September 1980 and was completed in December 1981.

SELECTION OF STUDY SITE

The study began with the selection of an "exemplary" community and bilingual program as the research site. "Exemplary" denotes both representativeness and effectiveness. The program chosen had to represent Chinese bilingual education at its best in the real world. The school had to be located in an area which had: a large and recognizable Chinese population; an ongoing Chinese bilingual program which had been operating for more than three years; teachers with acceptable bilingual ability and training; students speaking a number of Chinese dialects; and Chinese students from various parts of Asia.

A survey of the Chinese communities and bilingual programs in a metropolitan area on the West Coast was conducted. The survey collected information under four headings: (1) community background, (2) school background, (3) bilingual classes, and (4) any other relevant criteria. To be exemplary, a community needed a population density of identifiably Chinese people, as well as a history of such density. These residents had to be of both low and middle socioeconomic status (SES), and willing to cooperate with the study's data collection. The exemplary school had to have an identifiable Chinese student population; a history of such a population; an SES reflecting its community; research potential; and a systematically designed and implemented bilingual education program of some maturity. The survey standards for the Chinese bilingual classes themselves included subsets of criteria for teachers, students, and curriculum and instruction. Desirable features were the usage of two languages during classroom instruction, variety in the dialects of Chinese spoken by the students, and self-contained bilingual classes for at least half of a school day. Finally, "other" required factors included study manageability at any particular site, access to existing school and student data and records, and a past history of success or effectiveness.

After evaluation of data collected on seventeen schools and the areas they served, King School in the city of Cherrywood was selected for the study. Some supplementary data were also collected from a neighboring school, Wilson School, because, while like King School it served the Chinese community, it differed greatly in its implementation of bilingual education. (All these names are pseudonyms.)

In the next eleven chapters, this research report describes in detial the research method and the findings of the study.

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CHAPTER II

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

RESEARCH METHODS

The educational and language aspirations of a language minority group are usually the products of the group's history and culture and of social and political events which affect the group both directly and indirectly. Bilingual education in a language minority community must operate amidst the complex interaction of all these variables. Any study of how bilingual education interacts with a language minority group's educational and language aspirations requires, therefore, a comprehensive examination of all these factors by means of a variety of research and data collection methods.

The general method employed in this research is case study. This strategy does not entail the use of any particular data collection method or an interest in any particular data. Instead, any combination of appropriate procedures can be used to collect data to describe or explain any phenomenon. The data may be qualitative or quantitative, and may come from fieldwork, archival records, verbal reports, observation, or any combination of these. Yin (1981) suggested that case study is the preferred research method when "an empirical inquiry must examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p.98).

The object of inquiry of this research method — the case — is a certain bounded system of interest (Stake, 1978). In this study the case consisted of the Chinese community of the city of Cherrywood, its Chinatown, which is named Little Canton, King School, which serves Little Canton and its surrounding area, and Wilson School, which serves another area of Cherrywood that has large number of Chinese population.

The scope of the study was extensive. It examined the history of the Chinese in Cherrywood and how that history has affected the community's language and educational aspirations, traced the development of the bilingual education program at King School and Wilson School, described how bilingual instruction was delivered to the students, and discussed how these variables affect the education of the students. Due to this breadth of focus the study used many procedures and collected a large variety of data. The major procedures are described below:

Participant Observation. Participant observation has been anthropologists' major data collection technique (Pelto, 1973; Wolcott, 1975). It requires that fieldworkers immerse themselves, through long-term direct participation and observation, in the lives of the people they intend to study. Toward this end, researchers often establish residence at the research site and participate as members in the daily activities of the target group, while at the same time consciously maintaining the role of

observers. The investigators record their experiences as they seek to understand the overall social structure and the individual behavior of the people being studied. At the same time, the researchers must remain open to the discovery of unforeseen questions and answers.

This study used the participant observation technique to collect data from both the Chinese community of Cherrywood and from King School. For the former, the researchers established an office in Little Canton, interacted with the community on a daily basis, and gained an understanding of its social organization and of the educational and language aspirations of the community. For the latter, they worked as aides for an extended period at King School, gaining the acceptance of both the school personnel and the students while at the same time collecting large amounts of data.

Interviews. Interviews are best considered as friendly conversations in the course of which researchers obtain information from informants. Three types of interview were conducted in this study:

(1) Unstructured Interviews. These interviews were conducted mainly with key informants who had insight into community issues in general and particularly into issues relating to bilingualism and bilingual education. These interviews were conducted without a fixed set of questions; the informants guided the researchers into related issues by providing general information on the community's overall organization and on local events related to education.

(2) Semi-structured Interviews. Three interview schedules were developed: one for students, one for teachers, and one for parents and general community members. These schedules were semi-structured in the sense that, while a predetermined set of questions were asked of all the respondents, there was no limitation on the scope of their response. Respondents could reply freely to the questions asked and could express themselves on other related issues.

(3) Informal Interviews. These interviews occurred spontaneously during participant observation. Whenever the time and place were appropriate, the researchers would engage in conversation with members of the target group and ask questions relevant to the study.

Tape-Recordings. Many of the sociolinguistic questions addressed by the study required detailed analysis both of various speech events, in a multitude of natural settings, and of language use in the classrooms. Tape-recordings of these events were made. The tapes were analyzed to furnish both sociolinguistic information on the correlation of differences in speech behavior with social and language experience, and ethnolinguistic information on culturally related patterns and strategies in language use.

Review of Archives and Written Records. Archives and written records were used extensively in this study to supplement the data collected through participant observation and interviews. Libraries, newspaper files, and the Cherrywood Chamber of Commerce were

searched intensively for information related to the history of Chinese in Cherrywood and on bilingualism and bilingual education.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Except for the review of archives and written records, which went on throughout the study, data-collection activities were divided into three phases. Phase One lasted four months, from September to December 1980; Phase Two six months, from January to June 1981; and Phase Three three months, from October to December 1981.

Phase One. During Phase One of data collection, the researcher team conducted an overall study of the target community and school and prepared the groundwork for Phase Two. The team consisted of a linguist, an ethnographer, and three research assistants. All five were Chinese. The linguist was an immigrant from Hong Kong and was fluent in Cantonese and Mandarin. The enthnographer was an immigrant from Taiwan whose first language was Mandarin and had some knowledge of Cantonese. Two of the research assistants were U.S. born and the third one was an immigrant who came to the U.S. at a very young age. All three were fluent in Cantonese and English.

In early September 1980, the research team presented their project first to the principal and then to the curriculum director of King School. Permission to proceed was granted. The principal became especially enthusiastic when he learned that the researchers would work as bilingual instructional aides in the classes. When school began in mid-September, the researchers met with the second- and fifth-grade bilingual teachers and obtained their permission to collect data in their classrooms. Participant observation began in the second week of school and lasted throughout the school year. Acting in their dual role of data-collectors and instructional aides, the researchers began to mingle with the staff of the school and to learn about the many facets of its operation. Through their interaction with the students the researchers became familiar with the children's background and their families' involvement in Little Canton.

The data collected were written up as field notes. Periodically, the research team would meet to discuss these notes. This meeting would usually lead to the generation of some hypotheses which would in turn direct the focus of the next week's observations. Difficulties encountered were also presented and usually resolved by group discussion.

In addition to the second- and fifth-grade classes, the researchers began data collection from the sixth-grade bilingual class in November, because school personnel recommended it as an exemplary class. The researchers also spent one week each in the second- and fifth-grade non-bilingual classes, to compare them with the bilingual classes. As the researchers became more familiar within the school, they were invited to participate in staff meetings, parent advisory committee meetings, and other professional and social functions.

In December the research team moved into its office in Little Canton and began to collect data on the community through daily

interaction, as customers of shops and restaurants, users of libraries and public-service agencies, members of local organizations, and community members. The researchers also attended many church functions and community fairs.

Throughout the course of participant observation, the researchers conducted informal interviews with teachers, aides, students, other school staff, and the many people in the community whom they encountered. These interviews were not scheduled or planned, but occurred spontaneously. They were not taped, but were recorded as field notes.

From these open-ended observations and informal interviews the researchers gained insight into the questions under study and began planning for Phase Two of data collection.

Phase Two. In Phase Two, participant observation of the three bilingual classes became more focused, concentrating on four students in each class and their interactions with their teachers and peers.

As more, and more salient, issues had been identified in Phase One, the research team had begun to develop a plan for conducting interviews to collect in-depth data about these issues. In addition to the informal interviews which were integral to the participant observation and had been ongoing since Phase One, the team now began a series of interviews with key informants, teachers at King School, students in the target classes, and these students' parents. While the key-informant interviews were open-ended, the interviews with students, teachers, and parents were based on semi-structured questionnaires designed specifically for each group.

Key-Informant Interviews. These were open-ended unstructured interviews, conducted with informants identified in Phase One of data collection. These individuals were generally recognized by the Cherrywood Chinese community as knowledgeable in local affairs, or as community leaders. The first interviews usually started out with no fixed questions but, rather, allowed the informant to discuss various features of life and various educational issues in the community. As the research questions and issues became more focused, the researchers returned again and again to these key informants to ask more specific questions. Except for a few instances, where the informants objected, these interviews were audiotaped and later transcribed.

Student Interviews. These were semi-structured interviews. All students in the three target bilingual classes were interviewed (N=92). After interviewing five students, the researchers decided to tape-record all other interviews because they were not able to write down all the relevant information. They later transcribed these tape-recorded interviews onto the questionnaires.

Teacher Interviews. The research team interviewed all twenty-four homeroom teachers at King School, as well as the two English as Second Language teachers and the Prep teacher (who took over each homeroom teacher's class one hour a week so that the teacher could use the hour

to prepare his or her lessons). Three slightly different questionnaires were used for the bilingual teachers, the non-bilingual teachers of Chinese ethnic background, and the non-bilingual teachers of non-Chinese ethnic background. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed onto the questionnaires afterwards. However, many of the teachers became more talkative after the tape-recorder was turned off, speaking freely on many interesting and controversial topics. The interviewer would recall these comments and enter them into the field notes as soon as possible.

Parent Interviews. The study had initially intended to interview all the parents of the students in the three target classes. However, the researchers found that these interviews required substantially more time than they had expected, due to problems of logistics, the difficulties of travelling to and from the informants' homes, and the fact that various informants were only available at night or during the weekends. The research team therefore decided to interview only a random sample of the parents, a total number of thirty-nine. With a few exceptions, the parents were open-minded about the interviews and seemed to talk freely on all the questions asked. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed onto the questionnaires afterwards. Comments that were not directly called for by the questionnaires were also recorded.

Sociolinguistic data were acquired by collecting speech samples from a small group of students in the target classes and by tape-recording several lessons conducted by the homeroom teachers. Students who had agreed to aid in the first effort wore a radio-microphone on their jackets during the school day. This microphone transmitted the conversations of the student and his or her friends to a tape-recorder, through a receiver carried by a researcher who followed the student at an unobtrusive distance. The researcher would also take notes on the students' activities for reference during analysis of the tapes. The class lessons were recorded by two microphones, one placed in the front and one at the back of the class. The researcher would again record the class' activities during the recording period.

The completion of Phase-Two data collection also marked the end of data collection at King School.

Phase Three. In September 1981 the researchers met with the principal of Wilson School to arrange for data collection there. This school was chosen because, although it was located in an area where many middle SES Chinese resided, it had no bilingual program. The investigation's main objective was to explore the reasons for this lack. The principal approved the research plan and accepted the researcher's offer to work as an instructional aide. However, while at King School data collection began in the first week of classes, the principal at Wilson discouraged the researchers from entering the classrooms during the first two, unsettled, weeks of the term. Data collection therefore began in early October, the third week of school.

The Phase Three data collection procedures were very similar to those of Phase One except that the scope was much reduces. The day-

to-day data collection activities were conducted by a research assistant who was a fluent Cantonese-speaker. She assisted the teachers of the second- and fifth-grade classes, while familiarizing herself with the overall operation of the school and with its personnel. After these two weeks, when the research assistant had become comfortable in the school environment, she began a series of interviews with students, school personnel, and parents. Slightly modified versions of the three Phase-Two questionnaires were used. These interviews lasted through December 1981.

All twenty-eight of the Chinese students in the second- and fifth-grade classes were interviewed. Of the twenty-eight students interviewed, fifteen were second-graders and thirteen fifth-graders. Next, the researcher began interviewing these children's parents. Eight of the fifth-graders' parents were interviewed, four at school, two at home in the evening, and two who owned their own businesses during their workhours.

For an unexplained reason, the second-grade teacher was reluctant to let the researcher interview the parents of her students; accordingly, the researcher decided to interview instead the parents of the kindergarten class, with whose homeroom teacher she had developed a good rapport. This teacher's good working relationship with the parents, and her comments to them about the research study and the researchers, influenced most parents to agree to be interviewed. The researcher also soon discovered that interviewing the parents of the kindergarten class was more time-efficient than interviewing those of the older children, because the young ones were usually escorted to and from school by adult family members. The researcher was therefore able to interview these adults by asking them to arrive a little before the school day ended or to stay a little afterwards. Of the thirteen parent interviews, eleven took place at school and two at home. One mother of a second grade student who met the researcher also volunteered to be interviewed. This brought the total of parents interviewed to twenty-two.

The researcher also interviewed the school principal, the English as Second Language teacher, a bilingual instructional aide, and seven homeroom teachers, one from each grade from kindergarten through sixth.

Phase Three of data collection was completed in December 1981.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis was an ongoing process. Data were reviewed as they were collected so that the collection could be more and more focused as the study progressed. Except for some achievement data, the data collected in this study were mainly qualitative and were recorded in the form of field notes and completed interview questionnaires. Once assembled, the data were first reviewed and evaluated to generate new questions and directions for the ongoing fieldwork. After this preliminary analysis, the information was submitted to the following procedure:

1) Identifying Themes and Specific Thematic Elements. The qualitative data were reviewed systematically to identify those relevant to the objectives of this study (e.g., school-board meetings on budget allocation, and parental participation in the Chinese New Year festival at school).

2) Coding Themes and Elements. The themes and elements identified were coded and stored in a file, to permit easy retrieval of relevant data.

3) Selection of Vignettes. Vignettes illustrating pertinent issues or the inter-relationships of the groups being studied were selected.

4) Data Synthesis. The vignettes selected were used to test hypotheses and to elucidate the effects of different variables on the research findings.

Although most of the data collected in this study were qualitative, some, like that from the parent interviews, were also quantitative. In addition, some purely quantitative information was collected (e.g., school achievement data). These data, whenever appropriate, were coded, and analyzed with various statistical procedures.

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CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF CHINESE IN CHERRYWOOD

CHERRYWOOD

The city of Cherrywood, California, dates from 1850. It was founded by squatters--not an uncommon occurrence in California during the first decade of American rule. These squatters, one of whom was a lawyer and an official in the California state government, immediately began selling deeds to the property they did not own. They found many buyers, particularly after ferry service from San Francisco reached them in 1853. In the following years, the lawyer persuaded the California State Legislature to grant Cherrywood's petition of incorporation (Bancroft, 1970, v. 23; Halley, 1876; Baker, 1914).

Today's much larger Cherrywood covers land that used to be outlying farms and small towns. This study, however, will consider as "Cherrywood" all that presently falls within the city limits.

From its inception, Cherrywood has been a commercial and industrial center. The most important of its early industries were tanning, wood planing, and flour milling. Local farmers grew quantities of wheat, barley, vegetables, berries, and cherries. Capitalizing on the proximity of these farm crops, local entrepreneurs soon built fruit and vegetable canneries (Bunje, 1939; Baker, 1914; Bay of San Francisco; Halley, 1876; Bancroft, 1970, v. 23 and v. 24).

Cherrywood also early developed into a communications center. Its harbor first became important in 1859 when a deep-water channel was dredged to its dock. Then, in the early 1860s, the city became the western terminus of the Central Pacific's transcontinental railroad. Local firms also built lines to nearby towns and, in the 1870s, the Southern Pacific line built its own Cherrywood terminal. In time, railroads linked the city to all of California. A steamer ferry owned by Central Pacific ran several times a day to San Francisco. In addition, street railways operated throughout the city and to and from neighboring towns (Bancroft, 1970, v. 23 and v. 24; Halley, 1876).

Good communications meant access to raw materials. Cotton mills dependent upon Mexican cotton and a jute-manufacturing plant using jute from India grew up in the city. The discovery of coal nearby gave birth to an iron industry. Between 1870 and 1910, Cherrywood also boasted a ship-building industry, explosives works, glass manufactories, a boot and shoe factory, soap factories, a ribbon factory, and flourishing retail businesses (Bunje, 1939; Halley, 1876; Baker, 1914; Bay of San Francisco; and Bancroft, 1970, v. 24).

Chinese have been in Cherrywood almost since the city was founded. By 1860, the city boasted two hundred Chinese out of a total population of 1,500. In 1870 there were 950, and by 1875 two to three thousand out of a total population of twenty thousand. Chinese

comprised the largest non-white group in the city and also one of the largest non-native contingents (U.S. Census, 1950).

The Chinese lived both in the outlying areas later to be incorporated into Cherrywood and in the city proper. In the countryside, some Chinese grew vegetables and strawberries on leased farmland while others worked as agricultural laborers on the bigger grain farms. In the late 1860s, Chinese workers built the dam for the city's first reservoir while Chinese loggers lived and worked in the redwood groves east of Cherrywood and operated a sawmill nearby (Chow, 1977). In both the towns and the countryside Chinese worked in factories, often living in dormitories on company property. These factories included a cannery, a cotton mill, a fuse and explosives factory, and a boot and shoe factory (Bancroft, 1970, v. 24; Bunje, 1939).

In Cherrywood proper, hundreds of Chinese worked as laborers for the railroad companies, laying track, constructing bridges, and grading the roadbed. In the burgeoning era of the 1860s Chinese labor contributed significantly to ship-building, to running the steamboat line to San Francisco, and to major improvements in the harbor (Bancroft, 1970, v. 24; Halley, 1876; Bay of San Francisco; Baker, 1914).

The role of Chinese in other industries also grew between 1870 and 1875. They were the preferred workers in the ceramics/terra-cotta works and the cigar factories. In addition, by 1870 at least one hundred Chinese worked in explosives factories. The local cotton mill employed over four hundred Chinese by the mid-1870s while the cannery gave jobs to another 150. Large farms, which by then were mainly devoted to cherries, continued to depend on Chinese to harvest their crops (Chinese Six Companies, 1877; Halley, 1876; Bancroft, 1970, v. 24; Bunje, 1939; Baker, 1914).

Employers located Chinese workers by going to a Chinese employment office or labor-contracting agent. In 1882 Cherrywood had five such agents (Fong et al., n.d.). These men would also write letters for immigrants to send to their families in China.

Another source of employment for many Chinese (especially teenaged boys) was to work for the wealthy as cooks, gardeners, and houseboys. This work was steady and commanded a reasonable wage. Chinese businessmen also hired their compatriots, especially for restaurant work or clerical positions in small shops. There were not many Chinese-owned businesses, however, and those that existed were rather small (Bay of San Francisco; Baker, 1914).

The small, independent Chinese farmers specialized in vegetables and such small fruit as strawberries and raspberries. They significantly advanced local agriculture by teaching neighboring farmers how to irrigate their lands with ditches and windmills (Baker, 1914; London, 1916; Bancroft, 1970, v. 24). Chinese farmers also demonstrated how to grow two compatible crops simultaneously, introduced the commercial growing of asparagus to the region, and raised almost all the area's strawberries (some two hundred acres' worth in 1859) and most of its garden vegetables (Halley, 1876; London, 1916; Baker, 1914; Bancroft,

1970, v. 24). Chinese farmers generally leased their land for a percentage of the crop or for a straight rent; rarely did they own it outright. Even if non-Chinese Californians had not discouraged them from buying their farms, the owners were reluctant to sell, because the land values kept rising so quickly.

The Chinese farmers sold part of their vegetable harvest to San Francisco wholesale houses and part to local Chinese peddlers. The peddlers wore a wooden collar from which hung two wicker baskets. They loaded each basket with about a hundred pounds of vegetables, fish, or fruit. Most people in Cherrywood referred to these peddlers as the "Basket Brigade" (Cummings and Pladwell, 1942). Until the late 1870s and early 1880s, these peddlers were the only suppliers of fresh produce in the entire Cherrywood area.

Some Chinese in the urban areas accumulated enough capital to go into business for themselves. By the mid-1870s Cherrywood had thirty-five Chinese-owned laundries, and surrounding towns undoubtedly contained others. Several enterprising Chinese also started a shrimp camp along the shores of the bay. Some of the shrimp was sold locally and the rest was dried to be shipped back to China or sold to Chinese and others in the interior of California (Chow, 1977; Ma, forthcoming; Fong et al., n.d.).

The first documented Chinatown in Cherrywood dates back to 1860 (Fong et al., n.d.). It was quite small, in part because the social center for most of Cherrywood's Chinese was San Francisco, where the headquarters of the major Chinese social organizations offered greater opportunities for amusement and for business dealings. The first Cherrywood Chinatown was abandoned in 1865 when the mayor forced the Chinese to leave. A new settlement that was started a few blocks away burned down in 1867 and the residents were not permitted to rebuild. A third Chinatown also formed nearby at approximately the site of today's Little Canton. For a short time, there was even a fourth, a large settlement close to the shrimp camp which ceased to exist after the shrimp camp closed.

The Chinese temple catered to immigrants who retained their traditional religious beliefs. For the not-so-traditional, several Christian churches established missions that worked among the Chinese. By the 1870s, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists were providing instruction in both Christian precepts and the English language, with a combined enrollment of well over one hundred people. Many who attended the classes were more interested in learning English than in becoming Christians, but there were enough of the latter for the Presbyterians to found a Chinese Presbyterian Church in Cherrywood in 1878 (Gee, n.d.; E. Lee; Wicker, 1927).

From Cherrywood's founding until 1875, Chinese had participated extensively in the growth of the city and the surrounding area. Cherrywood, in turn, had provided a relatively hospitable atmosphere for these immigrants. By 1865, however, anti-Chinese sentiment had begun to surface, first forcing more and more Chinese to live in the same areas and then inspiring criticisms of the Chinatowns as

overcrowded and a bad use of valuable real estate. Residents of the various Chinatowns were shuffled around at the whims of powerful citizens. Since most of Cherrywood's Chinese were renters rather than property owners, they had little means of resisting these attacks. The State Legislature abetted the process by passing laws permitting cities to dictate to Chinese where they could live. Although commonly felt to be unconstitutional, these laws were not overturned until 1890 (Chow, 1977).

At the same time, problems in California's economy were making white laborers virulently anti-Chinese. Thousands of workers had poured into California from the east coast of the United States, Europe, and elsewhere after the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869. Then, in 1873, came a national business slump. Many investors withdrew their capital and, throughout California, factories closed down or cut back. By 1875 there was widespread unemployment in the state. Wages fell.

Unemployed or underemployed white workers blamed the situation both on American capitalists and on Chinese laborers; they thought the former were using the latter to destroy the American workingman. In 1876 and 1877, "anti-coolie" clubs sprang up throughout California and Dennis Kearney founded the violently anti-Chinese Workingmen's Party in San Francisco. This party demanded the destruction of Chinatowns and the exclusion of Chinese laborers from the United States. Physical attacks against Chinese were frequent.

The Workingmen's Party gained political control of Cherrywood between 1877 and 1878. In 1877 it elected the area's state senator and between 1878 and 1882 it elected the mayor and four of the seven city councilmen. In May of 1877, anti-Chinese forces held a mass rally in Cherrywood, threatening to burn down Little Canton, kill its residents, and destroy any businessmen who employed Chinese. The police were able to prevent these atrocities, but a mob of twelve thousand marched to Central Pacific's harbor operations and demanded that the railroad fire its Chinese employees (Bancroft, 1970, v. 24; Baker, 1914).

Businessmen reacted by forming a vigilance committee to protect their property and persons. They asked for police protection of their properties in Chinatowns. Many employers fired any Chinese working for them and denied ever having hired them; meanwhile, the more moderate city fathers tried to devise means of legally expelling the Chinese. (The State Legislature, in the meantime, was passing a whole series of anti-Chinese laws of its own) (Baker, 1914; Bancroft, 1970, v. 24; Cummings and Pladwell, 1942). Between 1876 and 1891 the Cherrywood City Council passed a series of discriminatory laws, such as the laundry ordinance designed to close down Chinese laundries, another which forbade people to live in crowded tenements such as those common in Little Canton, and still another forbidding peddlers to sell their wares on the streets of Cherrywood (Fong et al., n.d.).

In 1882, the U.S. Congress passed the first Chinese Exclusion Law which prohibited Chinese laborers coming to the U.S. This action, together with the gradual improvement of the economy, helped defuse

the situation. People of all races had less trouble securing jobs, and the anti-Chinese forces realized that very few new Chinese immigrants would be entering the country. Political power in the Cherrywood area passed out of the hands of violently anti-Chinese groups. But the damage had been done. Henceforth, Cherrywood's whites only barely tolerated Chinese living in the area, and employers routinely gave preference to white laborers. Furthermore, with each new economic reversal (such as the depression of the late 1890s), anti-Chinese sentiment once more swept through the state. Chinese had, for the time being, become the official scapegoat for most of the area's ills.

The anti-Chinese movement worked great hardship on Cherrywood's Chinese community. Chinese Exclusion cut down tremendously on the number of Chinese who might want to take up residence in the area and prevented all but the lucky few who qualified as merchants from being able to bring their wives over from China. Jobs became scarce. Central Pacific gradually ceased hiring Chinese. Around 1890, an anti-coolie club forced Pacific Jute to fire all eight hundred of its Chinese employees. The terra-cotta works replaced their Chinese workers between 1880 and 1900, and large-scale farmers reduced the number they employed by half or more. The only Cherrywood concern that did not cut back on the number of its Chinese employees was the explosives industry (Halley, 1876; Baker, 1914; Bunje, 1939; Cummings and Pladwell, 1942; Cherrywood Times).

Moreover, between 1870 and 1910 the small-scale Chinese fruit and vegetable farmers were either dispossessed by advancing urban sprawl (by 1910, Cherrywood's population had grown to 150,174) or driven out by hostile whites. Racist mobs attacked Chinese who lived in the county's smaller cities and towns, forcing most of them to move into Cherrywood or leave the area entirely. In Cherrywood, unemployment among Chinese rose, and more and more people either had to take work as houseboys or try to open a laundry. This led to cut-throat competition among laundries, resulting in lawsuits, blackmail, and public denunciations. Times were hard (Cherrywood Times; U.S. Census, 1950; Halley, 1876; Baker, 1914). During this period, the large fruit and vegetable cannery established in 1903 by the Chinese Lew Hing was probably the largest single employer of Chinese in the area; by 1911 its monthly payroll was said to total $25,000.

By 1900, there were only about a thousand Chinese in Cherrywood. The shrimp camp had disappeared, as had its nearby Chinatown. Only Little Canton remained. By 1882 it contained at least forty businesses, including thirteen laundries, a curio shop, a Chinese-style doctor, four barbers, three herb shops, eight fresh-food markets (including butchers), dry-goods stores, a tailor, and two restaurants. It had two retail opium houses, four employment offices, two Christian associations (Presbyterian and Congregational), and King School. By the 1890s there was also a Chinese temple, probably dedicated to Kuan Ti (the God of War). Little Canton probably contained several gambling establishments as well, located in the back of some of the stores. And, in 1906, it acquired its first formal social organization: a branch of the Chee Kung Tong (Chinese Freemasons) (Wells Fargo, 1882; Fong et al., n.d.; Gee, n.d.; E. Lee; Wicker, 1927; Chung Sai Yat Po).

Within four or five blocks of Little Canton there were at least twelve Chinese-owned laundries, an interpreter's office, and three more Christian associations serving Chinese (a second Presbyterian group, the Baptists, and the Methodists). There were also five laundries and one employment office near where earlier Chinatowns had been, and five more laundries scattered about in other areas of the city, in addition to Lew Hing's cannery in the city's industrial sector (Fong et al., n.d.; interview with Rose Lew Moon).

By 1906, very few Chinese were employed by non-Chinese except as houseboys or, during the season, as agricultural laborers. This cutting-off of employment opportunities, even more than the social ostracism and political discrimination, set the Chinese community apart from the rest of Cherrywood.

The San Francisco earthquake in April, 1906, flooded Little Canton and all of Cherrywood with refugees (Chinese as well as others). Most did not stay long, soon finding family or friends in other communities. Several tens of thousands, however, remained in tents in the city park, and among these were more than four thousand Chinese (Cherrywood Times, 1906; Chung Sai Yat Po, 1906). The city managed to maintain order and to see that the refugees received enough to eat. After several weeks, the mayor requested that Chinese refugees leave the tent city to take up residence in the already crowded Little Canton. Local organizations rose to the challenge; they distributed food, provided sleeping accommodations, helped reunite families separated during the flight out of San Francisco, and located jobs for refugees. The Chinese Minister to the United States also came to Cherrywood, bringing word that the Chinese government would pay passage back to China for any earthquake victims who desired to return home (Cherrywood Times, 1906; Chung Sai Yat Po, 1906). For a while Cherrywood and San Francisco officials engaged in an odd battle, both at times rejecting and at times bidding for the earthquake victims to resettle in their cities. Prospective neighbors of rebuilt Chinatowns agitated against the resettlement, while the lure of large local investments by wealthy Chinese refugees was tantalizing to the city officials. A major advertising effort by San Francisco finally influenced the Chinese entrepreneurs and the major Chinese associations to return to that city (Cherrywood Times, 1906; Chung Sai Yat Po, 1906-1908). About two thousand of the refugees, however, mostly men without families in the United States, stayed behind in Cherrywood. Little Canton expanded to accommodate them, almost doubling in size by 1908.

In April of 1913, a fire consumed much of Little Canton, but reconstruction was rapid. By the time World War I began, Cherrywood had about three thousand Chinese residents. Few members of the Chinese community were drafted because of the relatively small number of American-born Chinese, but some did serve. Edward Chapin Chew, for example, son of Rev. Chew, earned a commission as lieutenant, becoming the first American of Chinese ancestry to be an officer in the United States Army (Hoexter, 1976).

World War I's most noticeable effect on the Chinese community was economic. Within a year of the United States' entrance into the war,

Cherrywood along with the rest of the country suffered a food shortage. To make matters worse, 1915 to 1917 saw a series of "tong wars" erupt in Little Canton over gambling disputes. Most of Cherrywood's Chinese were involved in the violence only as vulnerable outsiders. Little Canton's wealthier residents even had to hire private guards to escort their children to and from school. After the tong wars were over, a terrible epidemic of swine flu struck the area, taking many lives.

In 1919 things began to improve. Although the return of peace brought some contraction in the economy, food prices were lower and the business slump soon ended. By 1921 Little Canton's overall level of prosperity had increased. Polk's Cherrywood Directory listed forty-three Chinese-owned businesses for that year, including Lew Hing's cannery (by that time, one of nine in the city) and six herb shops. Numerous other businesses probably existed that were not listed in the English-language directories, and outside of Little Canton were scores of Chinese-owned laundries. The lotteries and gambling establishments prospered greatly during the "Roaring Twenties," and several hundred Chinese peddlers with horse-drawn carts (or, increasingly, trucks) sold fresh produce throughout Cherrywood (Polk's Cherrywood Directory, 1921; interviews with Chew Long, Charles F. Chao, Rev. Frank Mar).

By this time, some of Cherrywood's young Chinese-Americans were old enough to go to college. To counteract racist exclusion policies, they founded their own athletic clubs (one of these, the Wa Sung, still exists today as a community-service organization) (Ah-Tye, n.d.; interview with Connie Chang).

Obviously, Little Canton in the 1920s was a lively place. Almost the entire Chinese community lived there, supporting such cultural establishments as one of the few Chinese opera houses in this country and a Chinese temple. The latter's patrons undoubtedly included many gamblers who wanted to ask for divine aid or to consult the temple's fortune-telling sticks. Gambling had become Little Canton's biggest business by the 1920s. It drew scores of people from San Francisco and elsewhere. Professional gamblers tended to prefer fan-tan and pai-gow whereas ordinary individuals bought tickets in the Chinese lottery. Some time during the 1920s or 1930s, the fan-tan and pai-gow houses moved out of Cherrywood to a nearby unincorporated area (where there was less police harassment) (interviews with Ed Thom, Ben Hoang, William Dang).

These were old-fashioned days. The streets throughout the city were lighted by gas lamps, lit each evening by a man carrying a long taper. Important streets were paved with brick but the others were simply packed earth covered with boards. Most transportation was by horse and buggy; hitching posts lined the streets and every once in a while there would be a trough for watering the horses. The inter-urban Red Train ran right through Little Canton, rattling nearby buildings as it passed. Communication to San Francisco was by ferry (interviews with Dong Kingman, William Dang, Edward B. Wong, Ben Hoang).

The Red Train's track served as a major dividing line of Little Canton. Above it were the main business section and the homes of wealthier community members, while below it lived the ordinary folk. It was the busiest street in the area, with many stores and restaurants. By 1924, all five of Little Canton's churches (Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregationalist, Baptist, and Episcopalian) were located on this street or within half a block of it. Many of the faithful lived in church-run rooming houses above the actual sanctuaries. On Sunday mornings these lodgers would only have to descend the stairs to attend services (G. Wong, 1971; interview with Rev. Frank Mar; Polk's Cherrywood Directory, 1921; E. Lee; Gee, n.d.).

At one end of the business section there was a barber shop established in 1906 and, on the floor directly below, a shop sold Chinese-language newspapers and magazines from both this country and overseas. By the late 1920s it had become one of the busiest spots in town in the evenings and on weekends. The young men of the community would meet there to play the pinball machines, drink soda, and socialize. A Chinese musical club also met in the store once a week for a number of years (Polk's Cherrywood Directory, 1921; interviews with Dr. Lester Lee, Rev. Frank Mar, Gee Guey, George Chew, Ben Hoang, Ed Thom). During the day, the young people tended to meet at the local hamburger joints (owned by Greeks) or the athletic clubs' practice sessions. Another popular pastime was skating through a long tunnel located nearby. On special occasions, someone might rent the roller-skating rink for a late-night party (Chinese were only permitted in the rink after regular business hours, on a rental basis). And, in the summer, the hardiest rode their bikes to a public swimming pool some ten miles away (interview with Connie Chang).

On the more somber side, in 1924 Congress passed the National Origins Act, a law which among other things completely cut off all legal immigration of Chinese to the United States. Now, even the Chinese wives and children of businessmen and of American-born Chinese were forbidden to enter the country.

The crash of the stock market in 1929 and the ensuing great depression hit Little Canton with considerable hardship. Wages dropped and employment was cut back drastically. Several things helped sustain the Chinese community at this time: work as houseboys or private cooks was still available, and the lotteries and gambling establishments continued to flourish. The gambling houses operated a bus and limousine service from Cherrywood to their establishments in the nearby unincorporated area. This brought in out-of-town customers for Little Canton's restaurants (a winner was expected to treat his friends to a banquet). In addition, various religious and family organizations supported relief efforts to help the unemployed (interviews with Ben Hoang, William Dang, Ed Thom, Toy Lim, Dong Kingman; ARC interview 0002). The California State Relief Administration also attempted to help those not fully cared for by other programs, and the federal government awarded a small number of W.P.A. grants to members of Cherrywood's Chinese community (interviews with Ira C. Lee, Dong Kingman; Gee, n.d.; Lum, 1978; Chao, n.d.).

As the overall economic situation had improved, the social situation began to improve as well. The proportion of females to males in the community increased, both because about half of the native-born children were girls and because the completion in 1936 of the bridge to San Francisco permitted a new wave of Chinese businessmen from San Francisco to establish residences and settle their wives and children in Cherrywood. Although neither the new Chinese arrivals nor the long-time residents could buy houses in most parts of Cherrywood, they were less confined than in the 1920s. Gradually, some of them began moving into a lower-middle-class section of the western part of the city, and others into the somewhat more desirable area some two miles to the north. In addition, some jobs formerly closed to Chinese and Chinese-Americans began opening up. In 1935, for example, the county government hired its first Chinese-American social worker (Chow, 1977; interview with Rev. Frank Mar; Fong et al., n.d.). Some of the barriers between Chinese and non-Chinese had begun to fall, perhaps because the Depression had shaken the feeling of racial superiority which had informed the nativist movement.

In 1937 the Cherrywood Chinese community was galvanized by Japan's invasion of northern China. Feeling deep sympathy for their motherland, they worked with their local branch of the China War Relief Association to raise money for war relief and to persuade the United States to join the war against Japan (interview with Ira C. Lee). From 1937 until the end of World War II, the association sponsored benefit performances and art shows, solicited contributions, and sold patriotic certificates to provide money for medical and other forms of relief in China. It also helped organize the Chinese community to boycott Japanese goods and to stop the United States from selling scrap iron to Japan (interviews with Ira C. Lee, Gee Guey; Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, 1934, 1943).

Cherrywood's Chinese community heaved a sigh of relief when the United States joined World War II in 1941. Many Chinese-Americans were drafted or volunteered for service. Obstacles to equal employment fell away as the U.S. found it needed a large labor force for its war industries. Hundreds of Chinese found jobs in the wartime ship-building industry, either at Cherrywood's navy supply depot or with private yards. Hundreds more secured other war-related jobs, or simply filled the places of the servicemen (and women) gone overseas. These jobs meant a lot more than better pay; they meant new careers and a whole new range of job opportunities. Many Chinese college graduates had spent almost their whole lives working as clerks or waiters in Chinese-owned establishments; now that they were released into the regular job market, Chinese began to enter into the mainstream and become more socially acceptable (Manuel, n.d.; Fong et al., n.d.; Chow, 1977; interview with George Chew; ARC interviews 0002, 0003, 010).

Exclusion was finally abolished in 1943, permitting the immigrants to apply for United States citizenship. In 1944 the State Legislature also repealed the provision of California's constitution which forbade the state to employ Chinese (Chan, 1975). This was the beginning of a

pivotal period, stretching from 1943 until 1964, in which Chinese and Chinese-Americans at last began to join mainstream America.

The improved job situation brought more money and prosperity into the community. It began to grow gradually again: from three thousand people in 1940 to about four thousand ten years later. By the mid-1940s, Little Canton contained over two hundred businesses, including forty-four groceries, forty restaurants, meat markets, general merchandise stores, herbalists, two noodle factories, three churches, the Ming Quong Home, a number of Chinese schools, and eleven associations. There were doctors, dentists, and an optometrist. There were several sewing factories, fourteen laundries (a hundred more laundries as well as two hundred Chinese-owned neighborhood grocery stores were scattered throughout the city), and, until a new federal anti-gambling law closed them down in 1954, lotteries and gambling establishments (U.S. Census 1950; Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, 1943; interview with William Dang; Cherrywood Times; ARC interviews 0002, 0003). Fund-raising started in 1946 for what eventually became, in 1953, the Cherrywood Chinese Community Center. In the same year, the Wa Sung Service Club was founded, an outgrowth of the 1920s baseball team (Cherrywood Chinese Community Center; Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, 1943; interviews with Ira C. Lee, Howard Ah-Tye).

Housing restrictions also began to break down in the mid-1940s. As early as 1946, a gradual lessening of racial antipathy permitted some Chinese and Chinese-Americans to move into previously all-white areas. The trend increased in 1948, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled restrictive-neighborhood covenants unconstitutional. Gradually Victoria Peak, an area some three miles to the east of Little Canton, became predominantly Chinese. The wealthy, the middle class, and most Chinese-Americans began to move out of Little Canton. At first, there were occasional reprisals by the new, white neighbors: lawsuits (prior to 1948), petitions expressing disapproval, and the like. By the beginning of the 1950s, however, this type of problem had largely disappeared (Chow, 1977; Chan, 1975; Cherrywood Times).

Equally momentous was the elimination of immigration restrictions. Chinese Exclusion was abolished in 1943, and the War Brides Act of 1945 permitted the children and spouses of servicemen (including Chinese) to enter the United States. The following year, this privilege was extended to servicemen's fiancees. In 1952 the Walter-McCarran Act repudiated the principle of using race as a basis for immigrant exclusion, although Chinese were still limited to an annual quota of 105. Cherrywood's Chinese community grew accordingly: from 5,500 in 1950 to 7,500 in 1960. Most of these additions were the wives, children, and new brides of the long-time immigrants and Chinese-Americans already living in Cherrywood. The old bachelor society was disappearing (U.S. Census, 1950; Chan, 1975). Cherrywood's Chinese community had, in twenty years, almost doubled in size, in part because of more liberal immigration policies, in part because of the natural increase that complete families permitted, and in part because the improved housing situation encouraged wealthy Chinese from San Francisco and even Hawaii to purchase residences in Cherrywood. The Chinese community

as a whole was becoming more prosperous and freer from constant racial harassment.

In the meantime, however, Little Canton was undergoing something of a decline, as Victoria Peak drained off increasing numbers of the new middle class. Little Canton became less and less a community in the traditional sense of the word and more and more a center for business and social interaction. Even then, native-born Chinese-Americans, particularly those of the third generation and beyond, had little interest in Chinese social organizations. Their patronage of Chinese businesses amounted to little beyond an occasional meal in a Chinese restaurant. It almost seemed as if Little Canton would slowly wither and die.

In 1964, however, the situation changed significantly, because Congress finally placed Chinese immigration on the same footing as immigration by people of other races and nationalities. The Immigration and Nationality Act was amended and set annual quotas of twenty thousand immigrants for each country and 170,000 total annually for the Eastern hemisphere. The result has been an influx of new immigrants, principally from Kwangtung Province in South China, into Cherrywood. From 7,500 in 1960 Cherrywood's Chinese community climbed to fourteen thousand in 1970 and an estimated twenty-five thousand in 1980 (BALIS Addendum). The majority of those middle-aged and older do not speak much English. Many are not highly trained; those that are find it difficult to use their skills because of the language barrier, their lack of membership in an American union, and/or their lack of American credentials (Chinn et al., 1969; Sung, 1976). For these reasons, the new immigrants have tended to settle in Little Canton, where use of the English language is not required and low-skilled jobs are available.

The new immigrants have given new vitality to Little Canton. Businesses sprang up to serve this new clientele and flourished. The new immigrants have also generated many labor-intensive industries, especially sewing factories. At the same time, family associations, community organizations, and social service agencies grew or were established to serve the many needs of the new immigrants.

The increase in the population of Little Canton, however, was not as much as might be imagined. Several city and state projects (a major freeway, a tunnel, the city museum, and a junior college, all constructed between 1950 and the early 1970s) have destroyed so much of what used to be Little Canton that there simply is not much room in which to house newcomers. The area's restricted scope has also raised land values which, in turn, has driven up rents. As a result, many of the recent immigrants live in new Chinese enclaves to the east and west of Little Canton. Little Canton presently acts as the center of the business, social, and civic life of the Cherrywood's Chinese community.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have traced at length the history of Chinese in Cherrywood in order to provide the readers with an in depth understanding of the historical events which affected Cherrywood's

Chinese community. In the next chapter we will describe how these historical events have influenced this community's use of and attitude toward language.

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CHAPTER IV

LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITY OF CHERRYWOOD

INTRODUCTION

The United States is a country rich in linguistic variety. Indigenous to its soil are the numerous languages of the Native Americans, Eskimos, and Hawaiians. Later immigrants brought languages from all parts of the world: Spanish, English, German, Russian, Yiddish, and others from Europe; Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Hebrew, Indian, Samoan, Western African, and others from other parts of the world. According to Ferguson and Heath (1981) one out of eight inhabitants of the U.S. have a language other than English as their mother tongue or live in a household where such a language is spoken. Yet, despite the potential benefits of all these different languages and cultures, the United States has had one of the most monolingual outlooks of any country in the world: speaking English is patriotic, speaking a non-English language is viewed by many as subversive. In order to blend in, to be accepted and to share in the wealth of America, each group has slowly had to conform, willingly or unwillingly, to the dominant society. Throughout the history of the nation, the languages indigenous to its soil as well as those brought over by most of the immigrants have been cast aside and left to die out. As Hymes says, "it may sometimes seem that there are only two kinds of language in the United States, good English and bad" (1981, p. v).

This chapter discusses the linguistic assimilation and the language use of the Chinese community in Cherrywood. Both have been extensively affected by U.S. foreign policies and immigration laws, as well as by general social attitudes and movements. Following the sociolinguistic tradition, emphasis will be placed on reporting salient points rather than statistics. The chapter is divided into five sections describing:

(1) The dialect backgrounds of the Chinese community in Cherrywood.
(2) The factors that allow the community to maintain its native language up to World War II.
(3) The changes that occurred after the war and the current resurgence of the native language after the passage of the amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965.
(4) The different Chinese dialects spoken in the Chinese community, particularly the problems of mutual intelligibility in relation to the status values and structural differences of the dialects.
(5) The attitudes of the people of the community toward English and Chinese; the perceived as well as the actual social and communicative functions served by these languages.

DIALECT BACKGROUNDS OF THE COMMUNITY

The early Chinese settlers in Cherrywood came largely from the Guangdong (Kwangtung) province of southern China. A majority came from the four districts known as Siyi (Sei Yap) to the south of Canton,

near the Pearl River Delta. Of this group a large number were from the Taishan (Toisan) district. Besides those from the Siyi area there were also a significant but smaller number of Zhongshan (Chungsan) immigrants.

Because of their numbers, the dialect of the Taishan or Siyi settlers became the lingua franca of the early Chinese community of Cherrywood. However, the sizable group of Zhongshan speakers also formed their own social and trade groups. For example, the Chinese fishing industry in the area surrounding Cherrywood was controlled mainly by those from the Zhongshan area. Even today, virtually all of the fish markets as well as a large number of the meat markets inside Little Canton are operated by those who came originally from Zhongshan.

Besides these native dialects, Standard Cantonese, spoken in Canton, the provincial capital of Guangdung, was also an important dialect. Both Siyi and Zhongshan were and still are rural areas. The people from there were of lower socioeconomic status, and their dialects were accordingly considered lower in status than Standard Cantonese. Thus, in some of the more formal speech environments, Cantonese is preferred. The dialect situation of the community is dealt with in greater detail below, in the section entitled "Mutual Intelligibility." Except in that section, all dialects will be referred to collectively as "Chinese."

MAINTENANCE OF NATIVE LANGUAGE IN EARLY DAYS

For a long period of time, from 1850 to the outbreak of World War II, the Chinese community of Cherrywood remained largely monolingual. Chinese was the prevalent language in Little Canton. As far as is known, there were Chinese- but no English-language newspapers in the community. Another fact which attests to the prevalent use of Chinese in the community was that one of the most active and influential members of the local community was the pastor of the Methodist Church, who spoke only Chinese. Entertainment was also conducted in Chinese. A Chinese opera house staged frequent traditional performances, and the local Y.W.C.A. performed plays such as Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice" in Chinese. Alameda County Superior Court regularly employed Chinese interpreters.

Compared to most of the European groups that immigrated to this country in the nineteenth century, the Chinese retained their native language much longer. Two external factors as well as the the internal attitudes of the Chinese community probably account for this unusual phenomenon. The following is a discussion of these factors.

Social Isolation

Immigrants usually begin to cease using their native language as knowledge of English becomes more important in their lives outside home (Fishman, 1966). However, as was seen in Chapter Three, the environment the early Chinese immigrants faced was a hostile one. They were forced to live, both for self-protection and by the design of the

segregationists, in tight social groups within certain enclaves where Chinese was the primary channel of communication. These Chinese, when they first arrived in the U.S., spoke very little if any English. Though some did pick up enough to operate in the English-speaking world to a limited degree, segregation kept direct contact between Chinese and the English-speaking world to a minimum and prevented the majority of them from acquiring the English language.

The Chinatowns thus became independent, miniature cities, in which all the services and goods needed by the local residents could be obtained. Contacts with the outside world were rare except through formal channels. The women of the community rarely ventured outside it. Though some Chinese did find work outside of Little Canton, most of the jobs were temporary and usually ended with one of the several anti-Chinese movements. Some Chinese were in private businesses that brought them into contact with English-speaking clients. However, most of these businesses, e.g., produce peddling and laundries, were labor intensive and required few active English skills.

Lacking contact with the white society, many Chinese did not even bother to learn English. Those who knew the language had little use for it. Their treatment as virtual outcasts by the larger society could not have enhanced their desire to identify themselves with that society. Thus, lacking both integrative and instrumental motivations, the Chinese community in Cherrywood remained a monolingual Chinese-speaking group surviving independently of the surrounding white community. The passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 only confirmed this feeling.

Typically, second- and third-generation descendants of immigrants lose all proficiency in the native language. This has generally been true of European immigrants, such as the Norwegians studied by Haugen (1953) and the Slavs studied by Fishman (1966). However the relatively easy economic and social mixing — even intermarriage — of the white European immigrants with established Americans was not formerly possible for the racially different non-European Chinese immigrants and their descendants. This was also a major factor in the Chinese's maintenance of their native language.

Anti-Chinese Immigration Laws

A second factor which contributed to the maintenance of the native language was the absence of wives and children in the early Chinese community. Many first-generation European immigrants also gained only limited proficiency in English, due to the lack of contacts with the English speaking world. The descendants of these immigrants, however, typically came to acquire proficient English and to use it in at least the public domain. This was not the case in Cherrywood's Chinese community.

For one thing, the early Chinese immigrants were mostly men who came here to make their fortune and then planned to return home to enjoy a prosperous life. Imported as laborers, they were not allowed to bring their wives and children with them. Thus they formed a bachelor

society in the U.S. The passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act by Congress in 1882 not only stopped the flow of new male immigrants, it also condemned those already arrived to spend their lives in enforced bachelorhood. Only the few in the merchant class were able to bring their wives from China. Little Canton of Cherrywood was thus basically a male society and remained so until the end of World War II.

As time passed, with few women and children in the community, the Chinese population grew older. Some retuned to China, despite the economic hardships in the home country and the "lost of face" for failing to earn their family fortune in "Golden Mountain" (as the United States was called in those days). The number of people in Little Canton dwindled. By the mid-thirties of this century, there were only about a thousand residents in this Chinese ghetto. Without a significant number of children, who can usually acquire language skills faster than adults, the Chinese community remained a place of aging people with a minimal competence in English.

Internal Reasons

Besides all the externally imposed reasons, many of the immigrants continued to speak Chinese because of the high value they placed on their native culture. They felt, like other Chinese immigrant communities throughout the world, that the tradition and culture of the Middle Kingdom, as China was and is known to its own people, should be preserved. Language, as one of the most noticeable manifestations and carriers of traditional culture, was considered of primary importance, and was preserved with much vigor. Schools and classes were instituted by the community to teach Chinese to their children.

Another factor that might have affected the desire of the early Chinese to learn English was that many came with the idea of staying here for only a short period of time. This "sojourner's attitude" led some to question the merit of putting out a lot of effort to learn a language that would be of use to them for only a short period of time. Of course, many were not able to make their fortune and to return to their homeland as planned.

By and large, effective language maintenance in the Chinese community of Cherrywood before the outbreak of World War II resulted from social ostracism and legal harassment. Though as a linguistically and ethnically alien group the Chinese were not welcome in America, they were tolerated as long as they remained within specific confines. In fact, language maintenance such as in Little Canton was probably not felt as threatening by the host society. No opposition to the speaking of Chinese was recorded. The pressure on other immigrant groups to learn English as soon as possible did not apply to the Chinese community at that time, because to the general public the Chinese were aliens to the U.S. and were best left that way.

On the other hand, rejection by the host society must have caused the early immigrants to embrace all the more strongly their traditional values and society. Their native language and people were all they could rely upon in this hostile land.

WORLD WAR II TO 1965

The linguistic situation shifted in the Chinese community with the outbreak of the Second World War. Economically, the war opened up jobs that had previously been denied the Chinese. Because of the demand for skilled laborers, Chinese were hired as shipyard workers, draftsmen, engineers, and so on. Many also joined the armed forces. After the war the inroads into the economic structure were maintained. The well-educated younger generations were able to find better paying jobs and to move with less difficulty, into middle-class neighborhoods such as Victoria Peak. The number of residents in Little Canton dwindled, even though the local commercial operations did not leave. Fluency in English became a major factor economic mobility and its usage was becoming a daily necessity.

Now set on what they saw as the path to socioeconomic parity in American society, the Cherrywood Chinese no longer had to depend solely on their own community and on the fluency in Chinese required there. Many parents urged their children to learn English, and only English. Those who could, avoided using Chinese with their children, convinced that the only way to break out of their low socioeconomic status and ghetto existence was to cast aside their language and cultural heritage and become fully "Americanized." Some parents also discouraged their children from using and learning Chinese so as to avoid creating deficiencies in the children's development of English.

Unlike their parents, the children who grew up outside of Little Canton did not have an environment in which they could use the Chinese language. This fact, together with the lack of new immigrants, and the fact that many parents discouraged the use of Chinese, contributed to the quick post-war erosion of the Chinese language in the community and created a new generation whose linguistic ability in Chinese was weak. Thus, the opening-up of the economy after the Second World War did for the Chinese community what society had failed to do for many years: it eliminated one of their most noticeable ethnic markers — their language. Had it not been for a series of changes in the sixties, the Chinese would, like the Irish and Germans, have been assimilated entirely linguistically.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

The Cherrywood Chinese community is presently a bilingual community in the sense that:

(1) there are a substantial number of monolingual Chinese speakers;
(2) a large number of the Chinese living in Cherrywood can operate just as effectively in English-speaking as in Chinese-speaking environments; and
(3) there are a number of Chinese in the community who have trouble speaking Chinese.

The adults in the community can thus be classified into three rough but useful categories: Chinese monolinguals, bilinguals, and English monolinguals. The community's children are currently undergoing rapid

changes in their linguistic competence and therefore will not be grouped in this manner.

The People

The people in each of the three categories are hetereogeneous. Within the Chinese monolingual group some have been in the U.S. for a long time. They arrived here shortly after World War II but have worked only in the Chinese community, and never acquired English. On the other hand, a substantial number arrived after 1965, the year the amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act were instituted. The more recent arrivals include relatively well-off businessmen from Hong Kong and poor relatives of earlier immigrants from China. Some are well educated but others have received nothing beyond a grade school education. All of these people are known collectively as Chinese monolinguals because they lack linguistic skills in English. Their daily interactions are limited to those with whom they can speak Chinese — i.e., those within the same group and the bilinguals.

Most of the bilinguals arrived in the U.S. after 1965 and since then have acquired a high degree of proficiency in English. Mainly younger immigrants, this group had the best chance of learning English because they were at an employable age and could acquire the language through job-training programs and adult English classes. The acquisition process is further speeded up by the contact they have with English speakers at their jobs. The remaining members of the bilingual group are American-born Chinese who have retained their Chinese as well as recent immigrants who had received English-language training before their arrival in the U.S.

The English monolinguals are mainly American-born Chinese whose families have been in the United States for two or more generations. Some actually have a certain degree of competence in Chinese, but are nonetheless assigned to this group because they are reluctant to use the knowledge they have.

Trend Toward Bilingualism

In reverse of the trend before World War II, the Chinese community in Cherrywood is becoming more bilingual. A series of domestic and international events have caused this turnaround, some of which are discussed below.

Change in Immigration Policy. In 1965, amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act abolished the national-origins system of immigration control as well as the Asiatic barred zone. The Immigration and Nationality Act, passed in 1952, had established three principles for immigration policy:

(1) the reunification of families,
(2) the protection of the domestic labor force, and
(3) the immigration of persons with needed skills.

As originally formulated, the act's quota system discriminated against Asiatics. The 1965 amendments, however, set new numerical

restrictions that, for the first time, favored immigrants from the Eastern over those from the Western hemisphere. A limit of 20,000 immigrants per country, up to an annual overall total of 170,000, was set for the Eastern hemisphere, while a total overall limit of 120,000 annually, with no individual per-country limits, was set for the Western hemisphere (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1980).

These amendments changed the profile of the Chinese population in Cherrywood. The first post-amendment immigrants came mostly from Hong Kong, although many had been born in China. This was because the only Chinese who could emigrate freely were those who lived outside of China and Taiwan. Coming from Hong Kong, a highly metropolitan area with a relatively high level of economic development, many of them were already used to the Western way of doing things. Almost all these Chinese immigrants spoke Standard Cantonese, many as their native language. Many also spoke some degree of English.

Although these early second-wave Chinese immigrants came from different socioeconomic strata and had different educational backgrounds, in general this group was of higher socioeconomic level than their compatriots who had settled here before the turn of the century. They cannot be viewed as unsophisticated peasants from the countryside; they are quick to catch on to American ways and many are financially independent. With a significant percentage of the 25,000 or so Chinese coming into the country settling in the area, the trend toward English monolingualism among Cherrywood's Chinese was reversed. The families that had moved away from Little Canton were replaced by the recent arrivals. The second- or third-generation American-born Chinese-Americans who spoke little or no Chinese were replaced by those who spoke mainly Chinese and little English. The dialect situation altered as well. The old lingua franca, Taishan, was replaced by the higher-status Standard Cantonese spoken by the new immigrants, despite the fact that many of the latter trace their ancestry to the Siyi area.

A significant number of the new arrivals came in as foreign students from Hong Kong. Their number has remained high until recent years. Taking advantage of the change in immigration laws, a majority have chosen to stay after completing their higher education to seek professional careers. Highly educated and from relatively well-off families, this group has exerted a significant impact on the local community. With their education, they have integrated readily into the U.S. economic structure. A good number of the new immigrants hold high-paying jobs, are well-integrated into U.S. society, and speak fluent English and Chinese. Their bilingual ability and their economic status combined to affect favorably the attitudes of the second- and third-generation Chinese-Americans toward the language of their forebears. Gone now is the image that all immigrants are proverty-stricken and cannot communicate in English.

International Policy. National and international events also played important parts in reversing the trend toward disappearance of the Chinese language in the U.S. Animosity between China and the U.S. began to recede in the early 1970s. The growing amicability between the

two countries culminated in the 1972 Shanghai Communique announcing the normalization of the diplomatic relations severed twenty-three years before. This international incident greatly affected the attitude of the American people toward China and things Chinese, in both psychological and practical ways.

Psychologically, the extensive media coverage led many people suddenly to "discover" China. An old enemy became a friend overnight. Wonderful things were said and written about China. Everything from the cooking to the lack of automation in China became endearing and likable. Chinese became for a while the chic language to learn. This newly won recognition had special meaning for the many Chinese-Americans who had been taught that the language of their ancestors was deficient, and that the patriotism of those who spoke it was questionable.

The reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and China also raised the prospect of trade between the two countries. American firms dealing in products such as raw materials and factory equipment, or in services such as tourist-oriented catering, became interested in establishing commercial ties with China. Fluency in Chinese became an asset as companies competed for the Chinese market. An unprestigious tongue that had been considered practically useless outside the home suddenly became a valuable property.

Ironically, the language most useful for trade with China is the official dialect, Mandarin, while the most common Chinese dialect in the U.S. is Cantonese. Many Chinese-Americans enrolled in language classes to learn Mandarin. Enrollment in Chinese classes in U.S. colleges increased by 66% between 1970 and 1972, the year the Shanghai Communique was signed by President Nixon and Premier Zhou En-lai (Eddy et al. 1980). This figure has held steady ever since. Locally, in a state university near Cherrywood with a high Asian enrollment, the size of the Mandarin Chinese class doubled in the early seventies. Dialect differences notwithstanding, an improved image for Mandarin meant an improved image for Chinese, Cantonese, and other dialects.

Domestic Social Movements. The awareness of Chinese among Chinese-Americans was further enhanced by the Civil Rights movement. The Chinese community's involvement came as university students aligned themselves with other ethnic groups to demand attention for the people of the Third World. Like other minority groups, the Chinese began to combat negative racial stereotypes and to extoll the virtue and value of being different. In order to receive support and to support those from the community whose rights were most violated, these students had to be in contact with that community. Knowledge of Chinese was essential.

The ethnic movement further inspired young Chinese people to reexamine their attitude to the Chinese language. At once the carrier and most powerful symbol of culture, the language was thought vital in establishing self-worth. Many of those who had grown up denying the Chinese language now found value in it. Even those who had never learned it tried to pick it up, and though few became fluent, they

could use the bits and pieces they did acquire to signal their ever more important ethnic identity.

While Mandarin classes became popular due to the rapprochement of China and the U.S., the ethnic movement increased the institution of and enrollment in Cantonese classes. At a large university near Cherrywood, Cantonese classes became one of the most popular courses in the Asian-American Studies department (instituted after a university-wide Third World strike).

An Asian fraternity in the same university illustrates the drastic change of attitude. One of the former members reported that none of its Chinese-American members ever admitted to knowing Chinese when they started college in 1967. But after two years of exposure to the trend toward ethnic awareness, many of the same students were busy taking Cantonese as well as other ethnic-oriented classes.

Another two year college located in Cherrywood also began offering Cantonese courses for the first time in the early seventies, due to student demand. These courses were attended by native-born Chinese-Americans as well as by those who had immigrated to this country at an early age. They wanted to relearn the language not only for emotional reasons, but in some cases because they intended to work after graduation with recent arrivals to the community who lacked English skills.

The Use of Chinese in Little Canton

All of the service oriented organizations in Little Canton have Chinese-speaking personnel. This was especially important at the level of contact between those who serve and those being served because the primary clients of these service agencies are recent immigrants and older, long-term residents who speak no English. Consequently, people with good bilingual skills are in high demand.

Commercial institutions in Little Canton are also staffed by Cantonese-speaking workers in order to deal with the large number of Chinese-speaking customers. Banks with branches near Little Canton require at least some of their tellers and officers to speak Chinese. In one such bank in Little Canton, all of the staff, manager included, speak Chinese. During this study, a new white employee hired as a loan officer had to be replaced after six months by a Chinese speaker because she was not able to communicate with some of the customers who could not speak English. These incidents illustrate the importance of knowing Chinese in Little Canton.

In some businesses workers need Chinese to communicate with non-English speaking co-workers. Restaurants typically hire Chinese-speaking people to wait on tables. Clients expect to be able to order in Chinese. The vast vocabulary in the field of Chinese culinary arts can hardly be dealt with by English substitutions. To have non-Chinese speaking waiters would call into question the quality of the food served by the restaurant. The waiters also need Chinese to communicate with the chefs and other kitchen staff who are almost exclusively Chinese monolinguals.

Grocery stores and fish/meat markets face the same situation. The large variety of food stuffs imported from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong are often labelled only in Chinese. Any effective worker must be able to distinguish one spice from another, not to mention that the majority of customers in such places are Chinese and speak only Chinese. Many of the store owner/managers themselves cannot speak English.

The prevalence of the language is also indicated by the large number of Chinese-language newspapers, radio stations and programs, TV programs, movies, night clubs, and videotape rental services available in the Chinese community. Although Cherrywood does not have its own daily newspaper published in Chinese (as distinguished from newspapers concerning Chinese which may appear in Chinese, English, or both) approximately 20 such newspapers are available. Many are published in neighboring San Francisco. Most, however, are Hong Kong newspapers that are published here with a "North American" insert. These newspapers are sold from no less than three Chinese newsstands in Little Canton. Ten years ago there was only one. Chinese magazine and novels published in Hong Kong, Taiwan and China are also available. Their buyers are usually those who received most of their education in Asia.

Chinese TV and radio programs have also been instituted over the last few years. While ten years ago Cantonese broadcasts could be heard in Cherrywood only one hour a day on one radio station, the community now has an all-day Chinese-only radio station. The programs are available through a special hookup for a monthly fee. The availability and continuity of this service signify its popular support. Many factories and stores that employ a large number of Chinese are customers of this radio service. Workers in these institutions are entertained and kept informed in a language they understand while they work.

A Chinese TV station broadcasts programs in Cantonese and Mandarin. Air time is purchased from another station that broadcasts over the UHF channel. Other Chinese programs, mainly exploring questions and problems in the Chinese community, are broadcast once a week on major commercial and public broadcasting stations. The programs are mostly supported by commercials for local Chinese businesses. The programs are well received, especially the Cantonese soap operas.

Chinese movies shown in cinemas or rented from videotape companies attract a large number of viewers. Although there is only one cinema in Cherrywood (opened in 1978) that shows Chinese movies, many in the community travel to nearby San Francisco where there are more cinemas offering more varieties of films. The spectacular growth of the videotape rental business also confirms the popularity of Chinese-language entertainment. In the last two years, three stores that rent videotaped Chinese programs of all sorts have sprung up in Cherrywood, all within the Little Canton area. The programs available include movies, regular TV programs, soaps, and special performances, mainly from Hong Kong.

Also responding to the new linguistic situation are the five 'Chinese' Christian churches in Cherrywood. All of these churches conduct Sunday services in both English and Chinese. Where the size of the congregation warrants, two services are conducted every Sunday, one in English and one in Chinese, while the others conduct their services bilingually. With one exception, the pastors of these churches are Chinese who can speak both English and Chinese. The one church which does not have a Chinese pastor has, in fact, been searching for one unsuccessfully for over a year. The interim pastor, a white middle-aged male, feels that a bilingual Chinese pastor is needed to attract more recent immigrants to the congregation.

In summary, Chinese is used by more people in Cherrywood than ever before. Given the new immigration policy, the number of Chinese speakers can only rise in the future. U.S.-born Chinese, affected by the change in social climate and the new status of China, have come to see their ancestral language in a different perspective. Their views are further influenced by the new breed of bilingual immigrants who have successfully integrated into the economic structure of the U.S. in a relatively short time. The whole community in Cherrywood is keener to learn and maintain its ancestral language than at any time in its history.

DIALECT USE IN THE COMMUNITY

Four different Chinese dialects are used in Cherrywood's Chinese community. Three belong to the Yue dialect group spoken around the province of Guangdung; the other is Putunghua, more commonly known as Mandarin, the official dialect of China. The three Yue dialects are: Standard Cantonese, Siyi (Seiyap), and Zhongshan (Chungsan). Standard Cantonese and its close variants are spoken in Canton, the provincial capital of Guangdung, in the three prefectures (Nanhai, Panyu and Shunde) immediately to the south, and in the British colony of Hong Kong. The term Siyi ("the four districts") refers to the four districts located approximately eighty kilometers to the south and southwest of Canton. The dialects spoken in this area are known collectively by the geographical name, i.e., Siyi. The Zhongshan dialect is spoken in the area east of Siyi. Mandarin is spoken by many of the immigrants from China and Southeast Asia, because it is the language of instruction in many of the schools. However, because of the small number of this group of immigrants, Mandarin is of limited use in Little Canton.

Linguistically, the differences between standard Cantonese, Siyi, and Zhongshan are not very great. According to Yuan (1960, p. 159), Yue dialects, among which are Cantonese, Siyi, and Zhongshan, "constitute a rather homogeneous group of Chinese dialects ... not many great internal variations can be found among members of this group." The three dialects are classified as related subdialects of the Yue group based on: (1) a number of similarities in their syntactic, morphological, and phonological systems that distinguish them from other major dialects; (2) a common historical source; and (3) their very similar lexicons (a detailed analysis of these Chinese dialects is included in Appendix A).

Users of Standard Cantonese and Zhongshan find no difficulty understanding each other, and the two dialects are considered mutually intelligible. Research on Siyi phonology has also found that Cantonese and Siyi show regular and systematic correspondence. However, linguistic similarities notwithstanding, it is generally agreed among linguists and educators (Wang, 1975; Cheng, 1973; Wong et al., 1981) that Cantonese and Siyi are not mutually intelligible.

More on Mutual Intelligibility

It should be emphasized that the fact that two dialects are of the same language does not guarantee their mutual intelligibility — a point on which some, (e.g., Anderson and Boyer, 1978, p.12) have erred. Many so-called dialects, such as the different varieties of German, are not mutually intelligible, while what are usually considered different languages may turn out to be mutually intelligible, as are Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish. In fact, linguists use the terms dialect and language in an essentially ad-hoc manner. Mutual intelligibility, therefore, is not a very useful criterion of what is and is not a dialect (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980).

Several further points need to be made about mutual intelligibility. First, the instruments developed in the past to measure it have not been entirely successful. Second, there can be degrees of mutual intelligibility. Third, as Hudson (1980, p. 36) notes, mutual intelligibility invariably involves the relative status of the languages and the attitudes of their speakers. Finally, one's knowledge of another language or dialect depends on one's previous exposure to it.

Mutual Intelligibility vs. Non-reciprocal Intelligibility

In the community studied, many Cantonese speakers, especially those who came from Hong Kong, claimed that Siyi was totally unintelligible to them. Adult speakers of Siyi, on the other hand, all claimed that they could both understand and speak Cantonese. This nonreciprocal intelligibility (Wolff, 1959) of Cantonese and Siyi is, in large part, rooted in the two dialects' different status and the accompanying attitudes of their speakers. In general, a positive attitude towards one dialect would enhance its usage and may result in its being adopted as the common language of communication among speakers of different dialects. Language attitudes may also be related to language achievement by students in some settings. For example, Ramirez, Arc-Torres, and Politzer (1976) discovered that students with a more positive attitude toward standard English demonstrated better achievement. We will trace here how and why this nonreciprocal intelligibility was developed and fostered.

The Language Situation in Guangdung and Hong Kong

Cantonese, the dialect of the provincial and economic capital of Guangdung province, has long been the most prestigious and widely used Yue dialect in Southern China. As Yuan (1969) says, "the high status it enjoys in the community has almost given it the prominence of being the standard language in the southern coastal areas of China."

its wide use in Hong Kong, one of the most important economic centers in Southeast Asia, has given it additional stature in recent years.

By contrast, the Siyi dialect is perceived as rusticated, funny, and backward by the Cantonese speakers. Many native speakers of Siyi even refer to their own dialect as the "country village" dialect. A public Siyi conversation in Canton or Hong Kong evokes stares, comments, and even snickers. The lateral voiceless fricative consonant (ɬ), a characteristic of Siyi (and, incidentally, of Welsh words with initial double l, such as "Lloyd") is often mentioned as comical by Cantonese speakers in discussions of dialects. The sounds of spoken Siyi are sometimes compared to spitting.

The Status of Siyi in the U.S. before the 1960s

Because of the large number of immigrants from the area, Siyi's status was quite strong in the U.S. before the turn of the century. Bauer (1975), citing Culin's 1887 study, reports that at least 70% of the Chinese in California at that time claimed ancestral homes within the Siyi area. The high proportion of Siyi speakers was maintained well into this century; a survey conducted in New York City in the 1940s showed 77% of the Chinese as originally from Siyi (Sung, 1967). Its importance and widespread usage in the Chinese community in the U.S. is demonstrated by the following quote: "In any business dealings with the Chinese in the United States, not to speak or understand Siyi can be a handicap. Even those who speak Mandarin or other dialects fluently are sometimes ridiculed by the Siyi people as being unable to speak Chinese" (ibid.). This condition was to persist until the mid-sixties.

The widespread popularity of Siyi notwithstanding, the eminence associated with Cantonese did not wane. Chinese schools in the California, according to Bauer (1975), continued to use Cantonese as the language of instruction from their early days, while Siyi never lost its "hillbilly" image. The Chinese schools in Little Canton were taught in Standard Cantonese. Teachers who spoke proper standard Cantonese were reportedly brought from China to ensure that the students would pick up the "correct" accent. The Chinese Christian churches also conducted services in Cantonese. One minister, an American-born Chinese who has now retired after almost fifty years' service at a local church, said he had to study Cantonese before he felt confident enough to take the job. So, among the early Chinese immigrants Siyi was the lingua franca, but Standard Cantonese, considered the language of the literate, retained its higher social status.

Cantonese as the New Chinese Lingua Franca

In 1965, following the restructuring of immigration policy, a large number of Chinese immigrated to the U.S. Sung (1976) estimated the number of immigrants who arrived in U.S. between 1966 to 1977 to be 255,092. Many of these immigrants came from Hong Kong, where Chinese were permitted free emigration. These included those who were born and raised in Hong Kong and those who went from China to Hong Kong as refugees after the Communist government took power of in the

Chinese Mainland in 1949. This group consisted mainly of Cantonese speakers.

The influx of these immigrants caused the Chinese community in Cherrywood to replace Siyi with Cantonese as the most frequently used dialect in the early seventies. To serve the immigrant clientele, businesses, social service agencies, and television and radio studios became staffed mainly by college-educated Cantonese speakers. While no tabulation of the number of Cantonese-speaking clients has actually been made, a receptionist at a Little Canton social-service agency estimated that 70% of its clients speak Cantonese, while the remaining 30% speak Siyi, Mandarin, and other dialects. This figure matches well with that of the owner of a beauty parlor, a native Mandarin speaker herself, who claimed that approximately 75% of her clients were speakers of Cantonese. Cantonese service personnel such as these were in highly visible positions in the Chinese community and played an important part in institutionalizing Cantonese as the standard Chinese dialect.

Siyi is now used only in private conversations between adults. It is not used in public meetings. Even the customary speeches delivered before the wedding banquets of Siyi families are mostly done in Cantonese. Children from families originally from the Siyi area report that they speak Siyi only with their parents. These children prefer to use Cantonese instead of Siyi when they talk to their siblings at home. In schools where Chinese is used, almost all Chinese children — even Siyi speakers — speak Cantonese to one another.

In 1977, diplomatic relations were re-established between China and the U.S., and large numbers of immigrants began to come to the U.S. directly from China. Most of these were native Siyi speakers who were relatives of Chinese who had come to the U.S. in the mid-nineteenth century. Cantonese, nevertheless, still remains the most important and widely used dialect. Because of the traditionally high status of Cantonese and its wide acceptance as the standard dialect of Guangdung, it was never stigmatized as inferior by Chinese in the U.S. On the other hand, Siyi has been much stigmatized by Cantonese speakers, who have arrived in large numbers since 1965.

Mandarin is the national language of China and Chinese writing, by and large, has to conform to its grammar. However, it has not become the lingua franca because the Chinese used in Cherrywood's Chinese community is commonly spoken, not written. Moreover, while Mandarin is acceptable as a written standard, it is not acceptable as a spoken code because it is not indigenous to Guangdung, where the majority of the Chinese in Cherrywood come from. In Cherrywood's Chinese community, then, speaking Cantonese has become equivalent to speaking Chinese. Even in China, despite the official status of Mandarin, the people of Guangdung province use their native dialect in daily conversation. It is widely known that Cantonese is commonly used as the language of instruction even though Mandarin is supposed to be used.

Language Experience

Another factor which affects the native Siyi speakers' ability to understand Cantonese is their personal language histories. Native Siyi speakers in the Cherrywood community can be classified into two groups: (1) the U.S.-born Chinese and (2) the immigrants from China. Both groups learn Siyi as children, but each learn or are exposed to Standard Cantonese in different ways.

For members of the former group, Cantonese is a reality that they have confronted ever since their childhood. This is particularly true for those who grew up after the mid-sixties. As described above, Cantonese was the higher-status language and was used in formal occasions as well as for Chinese language instruction. With the influx of Cantonese immigrants, the U.S.-born Siyi-speakers were brought into extensive contact with Cantonese. In fact, almost all of the children who grew up in Siyi speaking homes can also speak Cantonese.

Most Siyi-speaking immigrants from China are also familiar with Cantonese, a fact which can be attributed to conditions in China as well as to their immigration experience. Grade-school teachers in the Siyi area often teach in Cantonese. Radio and television broadcasts from Hong Kong and the provincial capital, Canton, carried mostly in Cantonese, provide entertainment and information for the people in the Pearl River Delta. Even if one does not venture to the city of Canton itself, where knowledge of Cantonese is essential, one eventually develops a passive comprehension of the dialect merely by staying in the Siyi area. Moreover, during their passage from Siyi to the U.S., most immigrants spend from two to eighteen months in Hong Kong waiting for the necessary documents. These immigrants all acquired further proficiency in Cantonese during their temporary stay in Hong Kong, where Cantonese is spoken by an estimated 95% of the residents.

Cantonese as Lingua Franca

Thus, Cantonese has become the lingua franca of the Chinese community in the U.S. The reported nonreciprocal intelligibility between Cantonese and Siyi indicates the level of accord the community has on this matter--Cantonese is intelligible to all but Siyi is intelligible only to those who are natives of those four districts. Siyi speakers do not feel that the use of Cantonese undermines their ethnic or local feeling. They have come to accept it as the representative of all Chinese dialects. This should be a powerful consideration when selecting a dialect for a Chinese/English bilingual program. As the next section will demonstrate, the possibility of replacing Chinese entirely with English is strongly resisted by all, but the Siyi do not react strongly to replacing their local dialect with one that they can still identify with.

CHINESE/ENGLISH BILINGUAL SKILLS

This section examines the attitudes various sectors of the Chinese community hold toward English and Chinese. Interviews furnished information about people's ideas while field observations have revealed actual language use — which sometimes confirmed and sometimes contra-

dicted reported attitudes. More importantly, the reasons underlying the attitudes and the behavior as well as the conflicts resulting from mismatch of attitudes and linguistic behavior are explored.

The Importance of English Proficiency

The Chinese community in Cherrywood and even those living within Little Canton have to interact with the English-speaking world outside regularly. For example, in paying electric bills, local property taxes, federal income tax, and so on, one must deal with a number of complicated forms and printed instructions. Unable to comprehend either the process or the language, the Chinese monolinguals must rely on "brokers" in the community to deal with the outside world. Service centers, accountants, tax specialists, and so on, all act as intermediaries between the larger society and those people who have trouble with the English language. It is not uncommon on any given morning to find a few people waiting at the office of an accountant whose popularity owes much to his ability to speak Chinese. People come to him if they need something translated or notarized, tax returns filed, books balanced, etc. Even Chinese businesspeople from cities around Cherrywood come there for their bookkeeping services because they need someone with whom they can communicate. This is the only way that non-English speakers can deal with official requirements.

Attitudes Towards Learning English

The Chinese of Cherrywood recognize proficiency in English as the single most important skill any person can have. Interviews and observations in the community indicate that opinion strongly favors the learning of English. People interviewed--recent arrivals and long-time residents alike--agreed that knowledge of English is of the utmost importance. Those who have by now mastered the language remembered the difficulties they encountered on their initial arrival in this country because of their lack of English skills. One such person remarked: "If one doesn't know English, one could get lost on a bus. If one has an accident on the street, not knowing any English could be equally troublesome."

The common consensus is: if one wants to stay here (in the U.S.), one should learn English. In our sixteen months of fieldwork, no one ever voiced the opinion that English was not needed. Neither did anyone remotely suggest that they wanted to replace English with Chinese. The unanimous feeling of the community is that English is the language of the U.S. and everyone should learn it.

The desire to learn English is also displayed in the demand for ESL classes. Various service agencies have initiated many ESL classes to accommodate this demand from the recent immigrants. The Adult Education Department of the Cherrywood Unified School District has rented the local Little Canton Community Center to offer classes for the immigrants. Community organizations, churches and colleges situated in and around Little Canton all boast large scale ESL programs catering to the Chinese community. Adult Chinese monolinguals in the community, especially those who fall in the highly employable age group, are ear-

nestly pursuing opportunities to learn English. ESL classes at several locations in Little Canton assist the new immigrants at different levels of proficiency in improving their English. Long lines of applicants can be seen at enrollment time. Those who work during the day attend classes at night so that they too can secure better employment and function better in this society. On the whole, the only people who do not attempt to learn English are the older individuals past fifty years of age, who consider learning a new language impossible at their time of life. Yet these people acknowledge and accept the fact that English is the major language in the U.S. and agree that the younger ones should master it.

The importance for the school-age children of learning English was also accepted without doubt by all the parents interviewed, especially by the immigrant parents. As one such parent remarked: "It's the American language and if they are going to stay in America, they should learn it." They also see that learning English can lead to economic gains. One such parent, who was forced to take a low-paying job as a seamstress in a factory that employs mainly immigrants, remarked: "if I knew English, I wouldn't work in the sewing factory." Asked to compare its importance to Chinese, the parents' typical response was: "English always before Chinese, because the kids are in America. They need English to get jobs (to) live in this country."

Attitudes Toward Learning Chinese

Despite the emphasis on learning English, however, all of the recent immigrant parents want their children to be competent in their native language as well. This sentiment is fueled partially by simple emotional attachment. It emerges in statements of the following sort: "because they are Chinese therefore they should know Chinese," and "it is important that they retain their own language."

Yet many also feel that knowledge of the native language is needed for practical purposes related to the children's existence in the U.S. Many of the parents who expressed the desire for their children to learn and retain Chinese cited the following two reasons:

(1) Knowing Chinese as well as English will make the children more employable. Many parents cited the increased commercial activity between the U.S. and China as evidence for this belief.

(2) Chinese is needed for parents and children to communicate and to maintain the family structure. Many of the recent immigrants cannot speak English. Since many of them have to work and are of an age where a foreign language can be learned only with tremendous effort, their only hope is that their children continue to speak their native language.

Other parents commented that if their children can speak Chinese they can act as interpreters for their elders. Not only would this be convenient, it might at times be crucial, since many parents live outside Little Canton. Even parents who are competent in English but more comfortable in Chinese prefer to use Chinese at home. Some feel that subtler meanings can only be conveyed in their native language.

The manifestation of this attitude towards bilingualism is an overflowing enrollment in the bilingual program at King School and the after-school Chinese language program in Little Canton. The program at King will be described later. The after-school Chinese program in Little Canton has a total enrollment of more than four hundred students, compared to only slightly over a hundred in the early seventies. A member of the Chinese program's board of directors predicts that the number will increase even more.

Besides these more formal avenues through which Chinese is taught and learned, some local institutions are also encouraging the use of Chinese. The Chinese Christian churches in Cherrywood, which draw more than 1,500 to their Sunday services, are also active in this regard. One such effort is the Chinese play put on by the Episcopal Church every Christmas. Characters from the Bible are portrayed by the youth of the church who are mostly of limited Chinese proficiency. Older church members hope that, through acting in the play, the children will come to use Chinese more.

The Function of Chinese Proficiency

While the importance of English is evident, the function of Chinese in the community is not always so obvious. For the Chinese monolinguals, the use of Chinese is inescapable since they do not speak another language. But more interesting is how the bilinguals and also the so-called English monolinguals use Chinese for various reasons. Some of these are discussed below.

The bilinguals employ their linguistic skills for social as well as economic purposes. They switch into English or Chinese according to the situation. Many of the bilinguals with whom the researchers have come into contact live and hold jobs outside of Little Canton. However, they frequent Little Canton to socialize with others and for various goods and services. While they must speak only English at their jobs, many of the bilinguals switch into Chinese when they are among others who speak the language. One example is the open-court volleyball game played every Tuesday night in the Little Canton neighborhood center. Since some players are English monolinguals, both black and white, the language of the court is English: the judiciary calls, for example, are all done in English. However, the bilinguals switch into either English or Chinese depending on whom they are addressing. This is obviously not due to communication difficulties because all of the players can speak fluent English. The bilinguals use Chinese to identify themselves as members of the same ethnic group. This in-group feeling helps (1) to reinforce a certain ethnic pride and common experience they share as a minority group in the U.S. and (2) to exclude others from their conversation. Linguistic ability, therefore, becomes the marker of group membership in this situation.

The players commonly exchange jokes in Chinese during play and give Chinese nicknames to each other. Comments about certain people's ability to play are humorously offered in Chinese. For example: when a player accidentally "held the ball" by hitting it underhand, with an upward movement of the palm, others in the team asked if he noticed

that the ball was "Waaht mh waaht a?" (smooth or not smooth?) On another occasion, one player praised another by referring to his power spikes as "tiht sa jeung" (palm trained in iron ore) — referring to a martial arts process whereby one's palms can turn as hard as iron. A player who took another's play away but failed to execute was criticized as "do sau do geuk" (too many hands and feet). Although there is no rigid pattern or rules of exchange, one player's comment or joke in Chinese frequently calls forth another.

Linguistic exchanges of this sort do not take place only in Chinese. Sometimes the exchanges are in English, but the content is Chinese. These kind of jokes rely heavily on the listener's bilingual skill. In one instance, several bilinguals and English monolinguals were discussing the time of an appointment. Everyone agreed that seven o'clock in the evening was a little early. One of the people in the group said, "at seven, I haven't even eaten my rice yet." The others laughed uproariously. "Eating rice," "sihk faahn" in Chinese, is the proper Chinese way to express taking a meal. Translating directly from Chinese into English, instead of saying "I haven't eaten yet," produced a comical effect. The significance of this act lies in the speaker's recognition of his audience's cultural and language backgrounds and thus confirms the group's solidarity.

People with bilingual skills also enjoy particular economic benefits because of the increasing trade with China and the inflow of capital from overseas Chinese communities. Businesspeople from these places often prefer to deal with someone to whom they can talk directly. Bilingual lawyers, real-estate brokers, accountants, insurance agents, and other professionals are sought after because of their bilingual skills. One lawyer with an office in Little Canton reportedly became the representing lawyer for an investor after the investor learned that she could speak Chinese. Before meeting this lawyer, the investor had been relying on a white lawyer whom he had met when he first arrived in this country. Since meeting the bilingual lawyer, the investor has given most of his cases to her, including one recent business transaction involving more than twenty million dollars. The sole reason for the switch: the new lawyer's bilingual skill.

Many English monolinguals also come from homes in which Chinese was used between the parents, or by the parents and the grandparents. However, mostly because of social pressure, many of them ceased to use their language both within and outside the home. Yet their socialization patterns and cultural practices remain ethnically Chinese and they retain the more obvious and noticeable cultural patterns, such as eating habits and their continuing participation in rituals of the New Year celebrations, the Lion Dance, and Laisi. Linguistically, many English monolinguals retain a certain level of passive comprehension of Chinese and a symbolic use of Chinese. For example, Chinese objects are referred to in Chinese while most others are referred to in English. Like the bilinguals, the English monolinguals code-switch into Chinese for a variety of purposes, most notably to avoid taboo English words and to establish in-group solidarity.

Ethnic group identity is also maintained in the English monolinguals' strict adherence to the customary Chinese naming practice. While most Chinese in the United States use Western or Christian given names in their daily life, they also usually give their children a Chinese name at birth. So it is common to find that Mike Lee is also known as 李兆虎, pronounced /lei siu fu/ in Cantonese. It is a name that Mike, born of second-generation Chinese-American parents, would rarely use, at least if he continues to stay in the United States. Mike would probably only use his Chinese name (1) on his wedding invitation and (2) perhaps after his death when it would appear in the Chinese newspaper obituary column, or on his gravestone. In all other circumstances, including at home, only the English given name is used. His Chinese name will probably remain known only to his parents, his wife, and his children.

This naming practice is significant because it reinforces the ethnic identity of the parents and children. English monolingual parents consult elders or others who know Chinese to find a proper and well-chosen name for their offspring. Even though they do not maintain and sometimes deliberately reject Chinese, some parents still feel that a necessary cultural symbolic function is performed by the naming practice. When asked why his peers give Chinese names to their children, one English monolingual Chinese replied: "That's the way it's done traditionally and it is important that we continue."

It can be concluded from the information the researchers collected that the Chinese community in Cherrywood on the whole recognizes English as indispensable. Every effort is expended to secure a competence in English for all who do not already speak the language. On the other hand, knowledge of Chinese is also deemed essential for the children of the immigrants. While some might forsake Chinese if forced to choose between languages, all desire their children to speak both. In other words, the linguistic goal of the community is English/Chinese bilingualism.

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CHAPTER V

DESCRIPTION OF THE TARGET SCHOOLS

THE CHERRYWOOD UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

Public education in Cherrywood began in 1853 with the establishment of its first public-school building. By 1868 a seven-member Board of Education was in existence. Then as now, the Board exercised exclusive control of the school fund allocated by the City Council.

Today's Board of Education still consists of seven directors elected for four-year staggered terms. Members were elected at large until a few years ago. Now the six districts of the city each selects one director, while only the seventh director is elected at large. Because of the staggered terms, this process of district representation will not be completed until after the 1983 terms expire for four of the board members. There has been great continuity on the school board. For example, two of the white males have served on the board for ten and sixteen years respectively. Of the seven directors on the 1981-82 school board, two were black and three were white males, and two were white females.

The board delegates the day-to-day management of the school district to a superintendent who administers the policies set down by the board. Below the superintendent is the deputy superintendent. In the hierarchical structure, the Cherrywood school district is divided into two areas, A and B, whose respective area superintendents must answer to the superintendent and deputy superintendent. In turn, the principals of each school site answer directly to their area superintendent.

The Cherrywood Board of Education has been very supportive of bilingual education. Over the years, a majority of the board members have spoken publicly of their commitment to bilingual education. This commitment has produced a formal policy statement:

> It is the policy of the Cherrywood Unified School district to offer bilingual learning opportunities to each non-English-speaking, limited-English-speaking, and full-English-speaking student enrolled in kindergarten through grade twelve.
>
> In so doing, the district will provide instruction in all academic subjects using two languages, one of which is English, as a means of instruction to build upon existing language and academic skills and develop new ones, thus enabling the student to achieve competency in both languages.
>
> Inherent in the process is an appreciation of culture so as to reinforce the pupil's self-concept. The total bilingual/bicultural process will enable the pupil to effectively participate in a multilingual/multicultural society.

To implement this policy, the district has hired bilingual teachers for all classes from kindergarten through grade twelve, and has set up

several bilingual children's centers. In the 1980-81 school year, the district's bilingual program serviced Chinese, Indochinese, Spanish, Filipino, and Native American LEP/NEP students. The district also funds an Office of Bilingual Education which provides support services to the bilingual programs.

At the time of the study's data collection at King School, the school district's superintendent was Dr. Jones, a black woman hired in 1975. This superintendent was characterized as an innovator who tried to make educational programs more relevant to the students. This superintendent staunchly believed in multicultural education and viewed bilingual education as an integral component in such a program. She has stated her commitment to bilingual education at many school board meetings and at other public functions. She also advocated that all children should be taught a second language. When California voters approved Proposition 13 in 1978, which drastically reduced school districts' revenues from local property taxes, Dr. Jones kept intact the budget of the Cherrywood's bilingual education program despite pressure from the teachers' union to lay off the bilingual teachers, who mostly had low seniority. And when the U.S. Department of Education issued a proposed rule on servicing limited-English proficient students in 1980, Dr. Jones was the only superintendent in California who testified publicly on its importance.

In February 1981 Dr. Jones resigned from her post in order to assume another job with a larger school district. In November of 1981, a black male was named the new superintendent of the Cherrywood Unified School District.

THE OFFICE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Bilingual education began in Cherrywood's public schools when the district joined a consortium to apply for Title VII funding. The consortium's proposal was approved and Cherrywood received funds in 1970 to implement bilingual education pilot programs for Chinese- and Spanish-speaking students. To manage the project, which included the supervising of the teaching and support staff, the district hired two consultants, one for each program. Over the next few years, the district received more funding from both the federal and state government. Bilingual education programs were implemented in more schools and to serve more diverse ethnic and linguistic groups. In 1976 the district consolidated the two consultant positions and placed all bilingual education programs under the supervision of the Office of Bilingual Education (OBE). In the administrative structure, the OBE is located in the school district's State and Federal Programs department, which in turn is directly under the Superintendent's Office. Thus, OBE operates independently of the school sites and the area superintendents.

At its inception, OBE was charged with implementing the bilingual programs according to the guidelines set by the funding agencies. OBE would hire and supervise the bilingual teachers and set the curriculum they were to teach. Supervisors from OBE would visit the bilingual programs and teachers periodically to monitor the progress and evaluate the students' achievement.

This arrangement is appropriate because the experimental nature of bilingual education programs required the concerted efforts of a core group of support staff. This staff was constantly revising the curriculum to match program objectives and served as trouble shooters for any problems related to the implementation of the programs. However, the arrangement also created many conflicts. In the first place, it put the school principals in an awkward position. While they were the chief administrators of their schools, their authority over the bilingual programs was nebulous. Secondly, the bilingual teachers tended to form their own comradeship and to dissociate themselves from other teachers at the same school. This led to much staff discordance. Many of these conflicts occurred at King School and are discussed in the next chapter.

In 1979 the Cherrywood Unified School District reorganized the Office of Bilingual Education and transferred the responsibility of supervising bilingual education programs in schools with more than one hundred LEP/NEP students to the site principals. OBE would provide only support services to these programs. Bilingual programs at schools with fewer than one hundred LEP/NEP students would still be directly supervised by OBE. In 1981, however, all bilingual programs at Cherrywood schools were placed directly under the supervision of the site principals. OBE has now become mainly a resource center. Its function is to provide technical support services to the various schools in the district and to monitor compliance with state and federal regulations.

During the 1981-82 school year, the coordinator of OBE supervised 65 employees. Directly under him were three specialists, one each for the Asian, Hispanic, and Native American programs. There were seven certificated and nine classified personnel to provide service to the Asian sector. The coordinator's main complaint was the difficulty of finding qualified bilingual/biliterate personnel to work for the district.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION GOALS IN CHERRYWOOD SCHOOLS

In accordance with California's education code, the Cherrywood School District offers basically two types of program for Limited English Proficient (LEP) students: (1) full-blown bilingual/bicultural programs whenever there are ten or more LEP students of the same primary language in one grade level and (2) a bilingual individual learning program (BILP) when there are fewer than ten LEP students. Since each school receives money directly and is responsible for the implementation of its bilingual programs, the school is free to plan its own individual program.

The Cherrywood School Board has adoped the following goals and objectives for the district's bilingual education program:

(1) To provide bilingual/bicultural education for all grades, K-12, and train the staff, including those who are English-dominant;
(2) To provide bilingual instruction in the subject areas in both languages in a relevant bilingual setting;
(3) To provide cultural enrichment courses;

(4) To increase the cultural awareness and language proficiency of target children;
(5) To develop the bilingual skills of the staff; and
(6) To try to encourage and implement parent involvement and to utilize community resources.

The Cherrywood School District's policy for assessment and identification follows closely those set forth in the California state regulations. It begins with the use of the Home Language Survey to determine the student's primary language. Students who come from homes where the primary language is other than English are given the Bilingual Syntax Measure to assess their level of English proficiency. The teachers of each class may also administer their own individually made and norm-referenced tests. Entry-level pretesting might also include use of the Language Dominance Survey, the San Diego Quick Assessment, and an informal reading inventory, among others.

DEMOGRAPHICS

The Cherrywood Unified School District is one of the ten largest in California, with a 1980 student enrollment of 49,300. Like most urban school districts in California, Cherrywood schools have experienced continuous decline in enrollment since the 1960s. The approximate enrollment in 1961 was 70,000 students; in 1974 it was 44,000. The district's period of steady growth has come and gone. As of December 1981 there were sixty-one elementary schools, sixteen junior high/middle schools, and thirteen senior high schools. The racial composition of Cherrywood's students for 1980-81 is provided in Table 1. The numbers are broken down according to the five most prominent ethnic groups in the district and according to school type.

TABLE 1
C.U.S.D. Racial Composition, 1980-81 School Year

	Black No. (%)	White No. (%)	Hispanic No. (%)	Asian No. (%)	Native Am. No. (%)	Total* Number
Elem.	18,102 (65.9)	3,697 (13.6)	3,125 (11.5)	2,295 (8.3)	196 (0.7)	27,467
Jr. High	6,868 (65.0)	1,645 (15.6)	959 (9.1)	1,022 (9.7)	74 (0.7)	10,569
Sr. High	7,862 (69.8)	1,296 (11.5)	817 (7.3)	1,242 (11.1)	45 (0.4)	11,264
District Total	32,832 (66.6)	6,638 (13.5)	4,901 (10.0)	4,523 (9.2)	315 (0.6)	49,300

* The total included students with unknown racial-ethnic background.

In contrast to the student population makeup, the 1980 census showed that Cherrywood had a population of 339,288 and an ethnic composition of 46.9% black, 38.2% white, 9.6 % Hispanic, 7.8% Asian,

and 0.7% Native-American. The smaller proportion of white students who attend public school is probably caused by the combination of "white flight" and the diminishing birth rate. This has cost Cherrywood almost half of its white students from 1969 to 1980. As the school district has experienced a decline of white students, it has also encountered an increase in the number of ethnic minority students. The number of Asian students has also been steadily increasing, though it is still small in comparison with the black majority. This evolution is illustrated in Figure A, Racial-Ethnic Composition Percentages by Year, 1969-1980.

Economically, Cherrywood is mixed. There are very wealthy whites, who usually reside in the hill areas of the city. But at the same time a large part of the population is poor; 34.1% of the students in the school district are on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Of the elementary school-age children, 38.1% are on AFDC, and the proportion of black children (64.5%) on AFDC is more than three times the proportion of white families.

The preliminary 1981-82 Language Census of Limited English Proficient students shows the following breakdown:

Primary Language	Number
Hispanics	2,575
Cantonese/Chinese	1,533
Mandarin/Chinese	300
Vietnamese	444
Laotian	299
Pilipino	271
Cambodian	152
TOTAL	5,574

KING ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

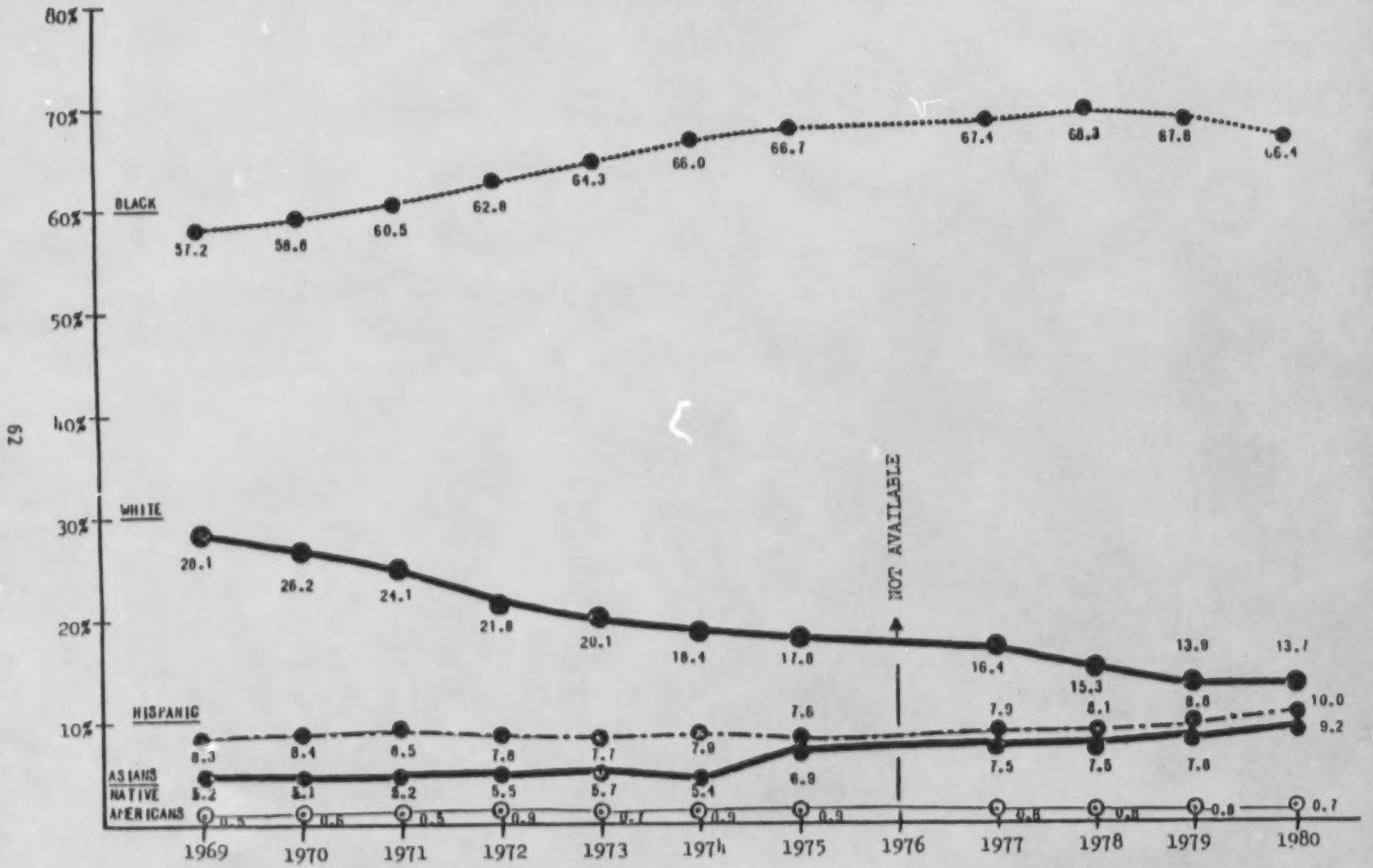
King School occupies two blocks in Cherrywood's Chinatown, Little Canton. All of Little Canton lies within the school's catchment area, and a majority of the students in the school are Chinese. The school was established in 1865; it had two classrooms and enrolled 60 students. Because of its location, King School has always been the main public education institution for the Chinese community in Cherrywood. The school has moved twice since 1865; its present location is three blocks away from its original site.

During the 1981-82 school year, King School had an enrollment of 735 students, of whom 431 (59%) were ethnic Chinese and the rest were Vietnamese, Koreans, Cambodians, blacks, whites, and students with Spanish surnames. All of the 431 Chinese students at King School were classified as LEP and 238 of them were enrolled in the Chinese bilingual classes. Classification is based on the district procedures described earlier. The school's racial breakdown for the years 1977 through 1980 is shown in Table 2.

King School is one of the most popular schools in Cherrywood, both with parents and with district staff. The school enjoys a good

CHERRYWOOD UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

RACIAL-ETHNIC COMPOSITION PERCENTAGES BY YEAR 1969-1980



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reputation for academic achievement as well as for its freedom from disciplinary problems. This approval is evidenced by the low turnover of King's teacher staff and by its overcrowded conditions. Originally built to accommodate 450 students, King School now has to deal with almost twice that number.

TABLE 2

Racial Breakdown of King School for Years 1977-80

	Mar '77	Mar '78	Feb '79	Dec '79	Dec '80
Native American Alaskan Native	2 (0.4%)	2 (0.3%)	- -	5 (0.8%)	1 (0.1%)
Black/Not of Hispanic origin	22 (3.9)	28 (4.9)	20 (3.3)	38 (5.8)	37 (5.2)
Hispanics	55 (9.8)	59 (10.3)	52 (8.6)	40 (6.1)	38 (5.4)
White/not of Hispanic origin	14 (2.5)	18 (3.1)	27 (4.5)	17 (2.6)	21 (3.0)
Chinese	353 (63.0)	356 (62.0)	376 (62.1)	403 (61.6)	454 (64.1)
Japanese	2 (0.3)	- -	- -	- -	2 (0.3)
Filipino	40 (7.1)	39 (6.8)	29 (4.8)	33 (5.0)	26 (3.7)
Other Asian and Pacific Islander	72 (12.8)	72 (12.5)	95 (15.7)	112 (17.1)	129 (18.2)
TOTAL Asian and Pacific Islander	467 (83.3)	467 (81.4)	500 (82.6)	548 (83.8)	611 (86.3)
TOTAL*	560	574	605	654	708

* Total included students with unknown racial-ethnic background

Another reason for King School's popularity is that recent Chinese immigrants settling in Little Canton or the neighboring area find it easier and more reassuring to enroll their children in a school whose staff can speak or at least understand their own language. The presence of the bilingual program also contributes to the school's popularity among the Chinese, as will be discussed below in the next chapter.

The popularity of King School among Chinese parents can be further seen in the fact that a significant number of them actually live outside of the school's catchment area. Some parents enroll their

children at King by reporting the addresses of friends or relatives in Little Canton as their own residence. Some children qualified because they were brought to Little Canton for day care. This is the case for those who attended the nearby district-operated King Children's Center. Still other students were previous residents of Little Canton who had moved away but chose to remain enrolled at King School.

Many Chinese parents prefer to send their children to King because they work in Little Canton. The school, King Children's Center, and the Chinese Community Center are convenient services for many who can drop their children off and pick them up on their way to and from work. Most of the students at King come from low or mid-low income families living around the neighborhood, but many of the out-of-area students come from families actually residing in more affluent neighborhoods than Little Canton. In 1980, only 12.5% of the students at King received AFDC.

The principal of King is a Chinese-American who had been a teacher in Oakland for more than twenty years before he became the principal at King in 1977. Presently he splits his time between King and another smaller school, where he is also principal.

There were twenty-one classes at King School at the beginning of the data collection, three each for grades kindergarten through six. Of these twenty-one classes, seven were Chinese/English bilingual classes, one for each of the seven grades. Early in the school year the school added a first and second combined-grade Chinese bilingual class to accommodate the large influx of new immigrant and refugee students. Because of space limitations, this class is conducted in the kindergarten room in the morning and in the cafeteria in the afternoon.

According to the school and to most of the teachers in the program, the Chinese bilingual program in King is of the maintenance type. All of the teachers in the bilingual classes must have, or must intend to obtain within a reasonable time, bilingual credentials in addition to their regular teacher credentials.

The teaching staff at King School consisted of the twenty-two homeroom teachers, two English as Second Language teachers, a resource teacher, and a music teacher. Of these twenty-six teachers, fourteen were ethnic Chinese, eight Euro-Americans, two blacks, one Filipino, and one Japanese. All the teachers in the bilingual rooms were supposed to be bilingual and biliterate in Chinese and English. This criterion was met in at least the three bilingual classes observed (second, fifth, and sixth). The school also had thirteen aides: ten Chinese, two Chicanos, and one Vietnamese. All the Chinese aides were bilingual in Chinese and English. Each of the bilingual classes was assisted by one of the bilingual aides for three hours a day. The Chinese teachers of the nonbilingual classes were not bilingual but all had some knowledge of the Chinese language. Some of the nonbilingual classes also had the Chinese instructional aides for three hours a day.

The noninstructional staff of the school—kitchen help, janitor, secretaries, etc., with the exception of the community liaison officer —

do not speak Chinese. The community liaison officer, whose main task is to inform parents of events occurring in the school, is bilingual in English and Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese program, there was also a Vietnamese bilingual program at King School. Of the two, however, only the Chinese program can be considered a full-fledged bilingual program. There is, in fact, only one Vietnamese bilingual class being offered, with a total of seventeen Vietnamese students, and the school was still looking for a Vietnamese bilingual teacher.

In addition to the full-fledged bilingual program, King School also provides pull-out ESL instruction to LEP students from both the bilingual and non-bilingual classrooms.

WILSON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Surrounded on all sides by residential homes, Wilson Elementary School located on the edge of Victoria Peak in a quiet, economically mixed neighborhood. The catchment area for its students encompasses on its northern edge a neighborhood with expensive homes, apartment complexes to the south, and more modest homes scattered throughout. Though there are some professional parents in its student population, the great majority of the families are blue-collar or lower-middle-class. For the 1980-81 school year, 33.1% of the school's students were receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).

With a total of 399 students, Wilson is small when compared to other elementary schools in the district. Though slowly decreasing in proportion, approximately 39% of the student population at Wilson School in 1980 are ethnic Chinese. The school's racial breakdown for the years 1977 through 1980 is shown in Table 3.

The school has thirteen homeroom classes: two each for third through sixth grade; one each for kindergarten, first, and second grade; and two combination homerooms for first/kindergarten and first/second grade. The teaching staff at Wilson includes four Chinese-American homeroom teachers, three of whom can speak Cantonese. There was one bilingual Cantonese instructional aide hired under the compensatory education program. The principal and a half-time ESL teacher were also Chinese-Americans. As mentioned earlier, most of the Chinese had some knowledge of the Chinese language.

TABLE 3

Racial Breakdown of Wilson School for Years 1977-80

	Mar '77	Mar '78	Feb '79	Dec '79	Dec '80
Native American Alaskan Native	4 (0.9%)	7 (1.6%)	12 (2.7%)	11 (2.6%)	5 (1.3%)
Black/not of Hispanic origin	92 (21.4)	116 (26.5)	122 (27.7)	115 (26.9)	118 (29.6)
Hispanics	25 (5.8)	22 (5.0)	21 (4.8)	20 (4.6)	18 (4.5)
White/not of Hispanic origin	93 (21.6)	83 (19.0)	71 (16.1)	68 (15.9)	79 (19.8)
Chinese	200 (46.5)	192 (43.9)	192 (43.5)	180 (42.2)	154 (38.6)
Other Asian and Pacific Islander	16 (3.7)	17 (3.9)	20 (4.5)	28 (6.6)	24 (6.0)
TOTAL Asian and Pacific Islander	216 (50.2)	209 (47.8)	212 (48.1)	208 (48.7)	178 (44.7)
TOTAL*	430	440	441	427	399

* Total included students with unknown racial-ethnic background

The district's Spring 1981 Language Census Report showed that seventy-six students in the school were identified as limited-English proficient. Of that number, forty-three were Chinese, distributed across the different grade levels as follows:

Grade	K	1	2	3	4	5	6
LEP	9	4	5	1	7	6	11

Because of the small number of LEP students, as per the state guidelines and district policy the school offers a bilingual individual learning plan (BILP) for each student. Under this plan, the homeroom teacher and/or the bilingual instructional aide provides the LEP student with additional tutoring. The extra instruction that these students receive is charted and a record is kept of their progress. These students are also usually pulled out to receive an hour a day of ESL instruction from the half-time ESL teacher who comes three mornings and two afternoons a week.

During the 1980-81 school year, Wilson had a short-lived bilingual program. The district Office of Bilingual Education sent a part-time teacher to provide bilingual instruction. However, the role of this teacher at Wilson was not well-defined. At first, the bilingual teacher was to team-teach with the homeroom teachers, providing small group instruction within the classrooms or pulling out students for bilingual instruction. But the logistics of coordinating this teacher into the

overall school curriculum did not work out. The homeroom teachers complained that scheduled appointments were not kept and that the bilingual teacher did not support the school's BILP effort. The district OBE said that the school did not want to implement bilingual education and that the bilingual teacher was serving as an aide in the classrooms. In retrospect, one can see that this bilingual program was never perceived as part of the overall school curriculum at Wilson.

For the 1981-82 school year, Wilson was given the budget and the responsibility to implement a bilingual program for its LEP students. The school staff agreed to use this money to hire bilingual instructional aides and to purchase bilingual educational materials. These bilingual aides were to follow the classroom teacher's guidance in helping the LEP students. But the school has encountered difficulty in finding qualified bilingual/biliterate instructional assistants. As of spring 1982, two six-hour positions for Cantonese-speaking instructional aides were still unfilled. In chapter eleven, we will examine in more details the reasons prevented the implementation of bilingual program at Wilson School.

CHAPTER VI

DEVELOPMENT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION AT KING SCHOOL

Since Congress approved of the amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965, Cherrywood, like the other established Chinese communities in the United States, has received its share of the influx of Chinese immigrants. Unlike the old immigration policy, the 1965 amendment allowed women and children to come to the U.S. Thus Little Canton has been gradually infused with more and more school-age children. Many of these students, being recent immigrants, have limited proficiency in English.

King School, with Little Canton as its catchment area, saw a corresponding change in its student population. According to the school district's census, King School's student population numbered 403 in 1970. Out of this total, there were 267 Orientals (66%), 55 whites (14%), 46 Spanish (12%), 30 blacks (7%), and 5 "others" (1%). The term "Oriental" is vague — it might include Chinese, Japanese, and many others (the term has since become unacceptable and has been replaced by "Asian"). However, given the ethnic make-up of King School's catchment area, probably more than 90% of the 267 "Orientals" were of Chinese ancestry. The proposal that King School submitted to the federal government for Title VII funding included some relevant data from a survey conducted in all CUSD schools in March 1970 by the Teachers of English to Students of Other Languages (TESOL). TESOL found that there were 149 students in King School identified by their teachers as having "significant bilingual problems which interfered with their learning in the regular school program." Another rough measure is the same proposal's estimate that at least 80% of the Chinese students at King School were Chinese-dominant and at least 40% were monolingual Chinese (these concentrated predominantly in the lower grades). Up to 1971, the school district had provided King School with an ESL program to deal with these students. Students were regularly pulled out from their classes to receive ESL instruction until they acquired a functional level of English proficiency.

The passage of the Title VII Bilingual Education Act in 1968 made federal funds available to implement bilingual education programs for language minority students. The Cherrywood School District submitted proposals by itself in both 1968 and 1969 to serve its language minority students, but failed each time to secure Title VII funding. In 1971, CUSD joined three neighboring school districts to form a consortium and submitted a proposal to Title VII to implement bilingual education programs in all four districts. The reason for forming the consortium, as stated in the 1971 proposal, was:

> so that the educational programs, in this case the bilingual programs, will have greater effectiveness on the children, staff and parents involved. By pooling resources, ideas, personnel and funding potential, the districts will be able to offer far more direct services to their constituents....It is far easier to influence the individual districts, the parent communities and the institutions of

higher education, which are crucial to any endeavor of this sort, if the districts band together in a consortium.

The consortium's proposal was accepted. Under the Title VII grant, King School would be one — the only one in Chinese — of the three schools in Cherrywood to implement bilingual programs.

It must be pointed out that during this initial period of advocacy, most of the chief proponents of bilingual education were Hispanics. The people who organized the consortium and developed the proposal were educators who had worked mainly with Mexican-American students, and the bilingual education program they proposed was designed mainly for this group. In 1971 these various program designs could not be based on any well-proven pedagogies — for none yet existed (see chapter one). Nevertheless, the programs were developed by people who had experience in educating Mexican-American students and who thus had some insight into their educational needs.

This does not mean that King School's staff and the Chinese community were deliberately ignored in the planning of the proposal. To prepare the proposal, the consortium had organized a Bilingual/Bicultural Educational Project Committee which met five times in January and February of 1971 to plan it. The attendance sheets reveal that there were forty-one members in this committee. Nine had Chinese surnames. Of these nine, three were teachers from King School, four were from the Chinese Youth Council, one from a Chinese service club, and one from an undecipherable agency. Several of these people attended the meetings only once. However, the Chinese community's unfamiliarity with bilingual education in public schools and the comparatively greater "know-how" of the Mexican-American educators probably impelled the Chinese to sit back and let the others set the course.

In September 1971, the Title VII bilingual program began at King School. The grant provided direct funding for teachers and aides and also support services from a centralized consortium office. The King school program was described as of the maintenance type. Chinese was taught formally as a regular school subject in the program and the children were assigned grades for their Chinese class on their report cards. The program enrolled both limited-English-proficient and fluent English-speaking students and they could stay in the program for as long as their parents desired. The program started with a kindergarten and a third-grade class. Foreseeing the unavailability of Chinese bilingual teachers, the consortium had proposed that the classes be taught by uncredentialed bilingual interns. These interns would teach in the day and attend teacher-education classes at a cooperating university or college in the evening, and receive their credentials the next year. The program also hired three instructional aides to assist the interns in their classes. However, the staff at King School were not pleased with the idea of having two uncredentialed interns in charge of the two classes. A team-leader position was established to supervise the interns and classes. The position was filled by a credentialed bilingual and biliterate teacher who had been working with LEP students in various classrooms at King School.

To provide the two interns with some preliminary training and to get a head start, a summer bilingual education program was implemented in the summer of 1971. Since participation in this and the upcoming full-term bilingual program was optional to the parents, the two interns went door to door in the community to recruit students and to inform the parents about bilingual education. The summer program was attended by many students and generally acclaimed as a success. One of the two interns has indicated that the summer program helped her to master the basics of organizing a classroom and developed her confidence to launch the bilingual class in the fall. When school started in September, quite a few of the students from the summer program continued in the bilingual program; the kindergarten and third-grade classes had fifteen and twenty students, respectively.

Because bilingual education was supposed to serve the needs of the community, the program also hired a person to act as a community liaison. This individual was a strong supporter of bilingual education and worked very hard to educate the community about it. Many teachers at King School still talk about her dedication and devotion to her job; they also credit her with increasing enrollment in King's bilingual education program.

In its second year (1972-73), the bilingual program canceled the third-grade class and added a first- and second-grade class. Students who had been enrolled in the kindergarten class went on to the first grade, but those who had been in the third grade were placed into nonbilingual fourth-grade classes. Both interns were credentialed now. The kindergarten teacher retained her class, but the third-grade teacher was transferred to the second grade. In light of the many difficulties encountered by the interns and of the objections of the other King School staff, the program decided to hire a credentialed teacher and the team leader was appointed to teach the first-grade class. There was still an internship program, but this year the intern did not have to teach a whole class alone. Instead, the intern would teach under the supervision of one of the credentialed bilingual teachers, taking the traditional role of a student teacher. To replace the team leader, a master teacher was hired to provide leadership to the program and liaison between the consortium office and the school. This master teacher was a Chinese immigrant who had come to the U.S. at a young age and has received all her schooling in the U.S. A firm believer in bilingual education, she spoke Cantonese fluently, but was limited in reading and writing Chinese.

Over the next four years, the program added four more classes (one grade level per year). By the 1976-77 school year, King School's bilingual program consisted of seven classes spanning kindergarten to sixth grade. All the teachers hired for these classes were credentialed; the internship program was dropped after the second year.

Between 1975 and 1977, the bilingual program experienced a fast turnover of staff. First, the principal, Mr. Garcia, who had provided enthusiastic support to the bilingual program since its inception, took a leave from his position in 1975. He was replaced by an acting principal, Mr. Wong. Being on a temporary assignment and unfamiliar with the

personnel of King School, Mr. Wong took a passive role in operating the school and the bilingual program. In the same year, the bilingual master teacher left the school district and her position was filled by the program's kindergarten teacher. In addition, the consortium also hired a program manager to coordinate the administrative duties of its Chinese bilingual programs in Cherrywood and in a neighboring district, freeing the master teacher to focus on providing instructional leadership to the program. The tenure of both the master teacher and the program coordinator were short, as conflicts developed between them and the bilingual teachers. These conflicts might have been mediated had Mr. Garcia been at King School. However, the passive posture of the acting principal allowed the conflict to deteriorate, and the master teacher and the program manager both resigned at the end of the school year.

The next year, 1976, the program appointed the first-grade teacher (who had been team leader during the first year of the bilingual program) as the master teacher. This master teacher introduced a new feature to the program. In the previous years, students in the bilingual program had stayed in their own classes for the whole day's instruction, which they received from the same teacher. These "self-contained bilingual classes" have been acclaimed by bilingual proponents as the ideal arrangement. However, for many reasons (one probably that she herself was trained as an ESL teacher), the master teacher believed that ESL instruction should be taught by specially trained teachers. Thus she began pulling the LEP students out of the bilingual classes at King School for daily ESL instruction. This practice has continued into the present, although its initiator also encountered many problems with the bilingual teachers and resigned from the school district after one year. As King School was informed that the next year (1977-78) was the last year of its Title VII funding, the program decided not to fill the position of master teacher at King School but to use the money for that position on curriculum materials.

Mr. Garcia returned to King School in the fall of 1976. However, he was offered a central administrative position in a neighboring school district and resigned from King in the middle of the school year. The former acting principal, Mr. Wong, was appointed by the school district as Mr. Garcia's successor. Mr. Wong is a middle-aged Chinese who was born and grew up in the U.S. Like many other Chinese raised in the U.S., he has some understanding of Chinese. He had been an ESL teacher in the Cherrywood schools for over twenty years. He has stated publicly that he does not support the bilingual education program at King School. He believes that bilingual instruction should be given only to the recent immigrant LEP students. Once these children acquired enough English, they should then be transferred to the nonbilingual classes, in order to make room in the bilingual classes for the new immigrant students. Mr. Wong is still the principal of King School at the time of the preparation of this research report.

In 1978, funding from Title VII terminated, and the Cherrywood school district picked up the operational cost of the bilingual education program. However, besides some reduction in the number of instruction aides, few changes were made. The program still had seven classes, from kindergarten to sixth grade. The same teachers were teaching the

classes as in the previous year, and they claimed that they still conducted the program as they had done in the past. The only difference was that the bilingual teachers were no longer responsible to the consortium and to the guidelines of Title VII, nor was there a set of district bilingual education guidelines for them to follow. The district, though, still had to comply with the California state regulations for bilingual education. However, these regulations were written for general application to cover all programs in the state; when used in a particular school — e.g., King School — they are unspecific and it is usually up to the site administrators to enforce them. The principal of King School, who had not supported the bilingual education program, did little to enforce these regulations or to provide leadership to the program.

The program continued in this fashion for almost two years, until the spring of 1980. At that point the principal, together with other nonbilingual teachers, proposed to make the bilingual program purely transitional—i.e., it would only enroll the LEP immigrant students until they had acquired enough English proficiency to function in nonbilingual classes. This decision created a great confrontation between the bilingual and nonbilingual teachers at the school. Eventually, the bilingual teachers were able to secure enough support from the parents of the students in their classes to stave off the restructuring of the program.

The bilingual program at King School has since continued without much change up to the present time.

THE FINANCING OF THE BILINGUAL PROGRAM

The Title VII Bilingual Education Act approved by Congress in 1968 was a demonstration and research program. Under this program, school districts were given grants as seed money to implement bilingual education programs and to demonstrate their success with language-minority students. The grants were usually for a period of several years. Over this period, the amount of the grants would decrease while the school districts would gradually take over the programs financially. School districts applying for the Title VII grants had to make a commitment to continue operating the bilingual program after the grant ended.

The Title VII bilingual program at King School was funded under the same stipulation. In its initial years, the grant financed the complete program. Gradually, the bilingual teachers were shifted over to the permanent district staff and funded out of the general revenue of the school district. Title VII funds then paid only for aides, materials, and other support services. Then even these funds were decreased. However, as funds from the federal government decreased, additional revenue was obtained from the state to operate part of the program.

In 1974 California approved its own legislation mandating bilingual education for its LEP students, and providing regulations and funding to its school districts for such services. However, this state legislation differed from that of the federal government in that it allocated funds to school districts according to the number of their LEP students. King

School received its share of these state funds for its LEP students (as mentioned in Chapter V, all the Chinese students at King School were classified as LEP). The funds were in turn used to hire bilingual instructional aides. This is the only type of funding King School is receiving for its bilingual education program at the present time.

STAFF CONFLICTS

The implementation of the bilingual program at King School has created many staff conflicts. The following is an examination of the factors that led to these conflicts.

First, the perceived job insecurity of King School's veteran teachers has been a major reason for their hostility toward the bilingual program ever since its inception. As the King School bilingual program was supposed to grow by one class per year, the nonbilingual teachers were under the constant threat of being replaced by a bilingual teacher and transferred out of King School. This insecurity created much enmity, because teaching assignments at King School are some of the most desirable in the Cherrywood Unified School District. Also, in 1978 California voters approved Proposition 13, which reduced the school district's local tax revenue and threatened layoffs in the Cherrywood schools. However, bilingual teachers were exempted from these layoffs. Many of the long-term nonbilingual teachers at King School were indignant because they might lose their positions while the bilingual teachers who had just begun teaching in the school would retain theirs.

A closer examination reveals, however, that few teachers at King School were actually displaced over the years. Due to the steady increase in the student population at the school, one additional bilingual classroom per year did not lead to the reorganization or the elimination of any nonbilingual classrooms. Only when the student enrollment remained the same or tapered off did any transfer of nonbilingual teachers become necessary. From what could be pieced together from various sources of information, one nonbilingual teacher had to be transferred in the third year of the bilingual program; in another year two nonbilingual teachers retired, so that no transfer was necessary; and in still another year one regular teacher was hired with the understanding that she would be let go if the enrollment of the next year did not justify her staying on, and left the following year. In spite of the small number of teachers whose jobs at the school were actually affected by the bilingual program, the threat of possible transfer and anxiety over the uncertainty was real enough to all the nonbilingual teachers, especially those with less seniority, since the principal did not usually know the actual enrollment figure until the beginning of the school year.

Second, the separate treatment of the bilingual program also added to the staff conflict. In its very beginning, the bilingual program was part of a consortium project and operated separately from the rest of the school. It had to follow the Title VII program requirements and the consortium model of bilingual education. In doing so, the program was often exempted from the goals and objectives that the nonbilingual staff had to attend to. The bilingual program held its own staff meetings,

which were not attended by the other teachers (because the topics discussed were usually unique to the bilingual program and were of no interest to the other teachers). Also, because of its federal funding, the bilingual program enjoyed many extra classroom supports — such as instructional aides, curriculum materials, field trips, and release time for teachers to attend workshops. These supports were available only to the bilingual teachers. This unequal treatment, usually viewed as favoring the bilingual program, further antagonized the regular staff.

The last reason, but not the least, that led to staff conflict is the difference in the teachers' perception of bilingual education. The researchers interviewed the principal and all the teachers at King School about their attitudes toward bilingual education. In general, they can be divided into three groups, according to these attitudes: (1) the bilingual teachers, (2) the Asian nonbilingual teachers, and (3) the non-Asian teachers. The responses from within each of the three groups of teachers were extremely similar. One gets the impression that bilingual education was a subject of frequent discussion (or argument) and that the teachers had separated into rival camps.

Bilingual Teachers

All eight bilingual teachers at King School favored bilingual education, both for the LEP immigrant students and for the fluent English-speaking students to develop their home language. In general, their rationales echoed those put forth by other bilingual education proponents (see chapter one). It must be remarked that all the bilingual teachers were themselves bilingual and biliterate, with a good command of both English and Chinese. Many of them were proud of their bilingual ability and valued bilingualism. They emphasized the importance of the students' home language. Such feelings might be one reason why this group of teachers was so dedicated to maintaining the bilingual program at King School despite all the antagonism they encountered from the nonbilingual teachers.

Of course, all the bilingual teachers talked about the importance of the students' acquiring English-language proficiency, especially for the immigrant students. In fact, all were under constant pressure from the nonbilingual teachers to demonstrate that their students could do as well in the English proficiency tests as the students in the non-bilingual classes. Some teachers indicated that the pressure is so great that they are tempted to cut down on Chinese-language instruction and devote the time to English. Despite this pressure, they still believed in the value of bilingualism and tried to maintain the Chinese-language lesson in their curriculum. Two teachers said that their classes were structured to give the students ample opportunity to speak their home language in addition to pursuing the formal Chinese-language lesson.

Nonbilingual Asian Teachers

This group of teachers objected to the bilingual program at King School, although they all agreed that a transitional bilingual program (with no formal Chinese language instruction) was needed for the immigrant students. They felt that the immigrant students could learn from

the bilingual teacher more easily than from a monolingual English teacher. The Chinese-American ESL teacher at King School said that the bilingual teachers could communicate with the LEP students and gave them a feeling of security. But the nonbilinguals thought that, as soon as the students had acquired enough English in the bilingual program, they should be transferred to an all-English class. Otherwise, as the same ESL teacher said, the students would rely on the translation of the two languages in the classroom, and the bilingual instruction in both Chinese and English would become a hindrance to the children's further acquisition of English.

Moreover, most of these teachers did not think that language skills in Chinese, which is not written in the roman alphabet, are transferable to English. One teacher said, "Reading up and down is not transferable to reading left and right." Others added that the students who lived around Little Canton have ample opportunities to maintain their Chinese language by using it at home and in the community, and that the role of the school is to teach them English. For the fluent English-speaking students, these teachers felt that if they wanted Chinese classes, they could enroll in the after school Chinese language program. Some teachers also felt that the curriculum in the bilingual program at King School put too much emphasis on Chinese culture and was thus detrimental to the students' socialization into American society.

Non-Asian Teachers

This group of teachers also opposed the bilingual education program at King School--especially the program's Chinese-language instruction. However, they all agreed on the usefulness of the bilingual aides, who helped them communicate with the LEP immigrant students and explained the lessons to them.

These teachers opposed bilingual education mainly because they do not see the value of bilingualism and, in fact, view it as anti-American. They felt that providing opportunities for the children to learn and maintain their home language is not the proper education to make them into good American citizens. They also criticized the curriculum in the Chinese bilingual program as deficient for the education of American citizens. It puts too much emphasis on the students' home culture and history, taking valuable time away from the social studies which introduce them to U.S. history and geography, its constitution, and so on. For example, one teacher said that if they want to come to the U.S., immigrants should learn English and forget their culture.

It is important to point out that the non-Asian teachers and the nonbilingual Asian teachers opposed bilingual education for different reasons. Most of the former felt bilingual education hinders the children's acquisition of English, while the latter considered it flatly anti-American. Most of the non-Asian teachers indicated that they discouraged or forbade the speaking of any Chinese language in their classes, and many were very proud to say that immigrant students would usually forsake their home language after one year in their class. One teacher said, "Unlike the children in the bilingual classes, my students do not speak Chinese in the playground during recess."

Another comment that this group, as well as the nonbilingual Asian teachers and some bilingual teachers, made was that students in the bilingual classes were overprotected and would encounter difficulties in high schools where the ethnic make-up of the students was more diverse.

THE ROLE OF THE DISTRICT OFFICE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

As recounted in Chapter IV, the Cherrywood School Office of Bilingual Education (OBE) was organized in 1976 to supervise the increasing number of bilingual programs in the different schools. However, OBE never actually had much interaction with the bilingual program at King School, for two reasons. First, the bilingual program at King was part of a consortium which had an undefined relationship with OBE. The bilingual teachers at King School always referred to themselves as the consortium and not as the school district's bilingual education program. Secondly, many of the bilingual teachers at King School began teaching in 1971, five years before OBE came into existence. They viewed themselves as the pioneers of Chinese bilingual education and had more experience and know-how than the OBE staff. This made it difficult for the staff of OBE to supervise them. These factors, together with the unclear supervisory role of the principal, gradually brought the King School bilingual staff to function independently of the school site administration and of other district administrative units.

This situation continued after termination of Title VII funding, when OBE officially took over supervision of the bilingual program at King School. But the takeover was in name only, as King's program continued on its own merry way. Contributing further to its independence was the lack of a district master plan for bilingual education. Even though such a plan had been requested by the school district and by the community advisory committee, OBE failed year after year to come up with a comprehensive plan. This failure heightened the disrespect for OBE felt by the bilingual staff at King School.

PARENTAL PARTICIPATION

Bilingual education was proposed on the assumption that it was desired by its target community and that the community's input was crucial to the successful implementation of the program. The 1968 Title VII Bilingual Education Act had required that proposals for funding be developed jointly by the communities and school districts; and if funded, the programs were required to have continuous input from the communities. This was true in the case of King School. The proposal was developed with the participation of community members of Little Canton, though their actual contribution might be minimal. When the program was approved for funding by Title VII, a community liaison person was hired. This position has remained up to the present time; when Title VII funding ended in 1978, district and state funds were used to continue it. As was mentioned earlier, during the first two years of the bilingual program the main task of the community liaison person was to inform parents about the purpose and availability of the program. Later on, the community liaison person took on the main role

of a translator, translating school and district notices and bulletins for the increasing number of immigrant parents. Often, this individual also served as interpreter to help immigrant parents communicate with non-Chinese-speaking school staff. This position has been considered so important that the present principal, Mr. Wong — who opposes the bilingual program — has tried every year since the Title VII funding was withdrawn to retain it.

However, the relationship between the school and the community or parents was one-sided. While King School did inform the parents about school programs and activities, there is no indication that the school ever elicited input from the community or from parents in the design or implementation of the bilingual program. In the study's interviews, no one ever mentioned a feature of the program that was implemented at the request of the parents.

There was a King School parent-teacher association (PTA), but the participation was never strong. Except for a few core members, few attended the meeting. This nonparticipation might be due to the fact that most King School students were from immigrant families. Unable to obtain good-paying jobs, both parents in these families usually have to work, and they do not have the time to attend school meetings. Also, the Chinese community has traditionally had great respect and trust for teachers, feeling that they were more knowledgeable and experienced in making decisions about their children's education.

The study's interviews indicated that the PTA's core members were parents of children in the bilingual program. Though they were few in number, yet, when the occasion demanded, they were able to mobilize many other parents to show up in force to support bilingual education. This support was illustrated at the school board meeting after the passage of Proposition 13, when the parents opposed budget cuts to any bilingual programs in Cherrywood schools. Similarly, when the principal, Mr. Wong, wanted to change King School's bilingual program to a transitional one in 1980, over one hundred parents showed up to support the bilingual teachers. Thus confronted, the principal eventually backed down on his plan. Some King School staff have said that the PTA consisted of only a few "activists." Nevertheless, these "activists" seemed to have the trust of many other nonattending parents.

ADMITTANCE TO THE BILINGUAL PROGRAM

The King School bilingual program is described by the principal and by its staff as of the maintenance type. Admittance into the bilingual classes is voluntary and, once admitted, students are not required to exit to the regular program after they have achieved a certain level of English proficiency. However, there are several factors which tie in closely with the enrollment of a student in a bilingual program.

(1) Test Scores. All new students at King School are assessed for their English language proficiency according to the district procedure (chapter five). Those found to be LEP must be sent to the bilingual

classrooms, except in cases where the children's parents prefer otherwise.

(2) Dialects. Since the dialect used in the Chinese-language classes is Cantonese, LEP students whose home dialect does not belong to the Yue dialect group are sent to the nonbilingual classes unless the parents prefer the bilingual program. For example, a Shanghainese-speaking child was assigned to the fifth-grade bilingual classroom at the beginning of the school year. He was soon transferred to a regular room. The teacher reasoned that the child would probably not benefit from bilingual instruction.

(3) Class size. The maximum class size in Cherrywood's schools was 32 students per room. When a bilingual class reached its maximum enrollment, new students were often assigned to nonbilingual classrooms where overcrowding was not as severe. However, the parents of these children may have been somewhat pressured into agreeing that their children be sent to nonbilingual classrooms. One parent interviewed said that when she sent her two children to King School when they arrived in Cherrywood, the school placed her daughter in the bilingual class and her son in the nonbilingual class. She was never given reasons for their assignments. (She requested and was granted the transfer of her son into the bilingual program the next school year because he could not comprehend the classroom instruction, which was entirely in English.) If the parents insisted on the bilingual program, the school usually found ways to accommodate the new immigrant students. For example, the fifth-grade bilingual class had at one time a total of 35 students. The teacher, under the orders of the principal, had to talk some of the parents into giving permission to transfer their children out of the room in order to keep the class size at an acceptable number. Two did transfer, leaving 33 in the class. The one extra student was fictitiously enrolled in another class. Thus, on paper, there were only 32 children in this fifth-grade room.

PROGRAM DESIGN

When King School received its Title VII funding, bilingual education was at its beginning, experimental stage. Many of the program designs and pedagogies proposed by the consortium were based on educated judgments but had never been tried before. Thus, much chaos and many difficulties were created. According to the first kindergarten teacher at King, she tried to follow the guidelines set forth in the proposal as closely as possible during the first year of instruction. For example, she tried to use Chinese 80% and English 20% of the time. However, when in the following year the first-grade bilingual teacher complained about the poor English skills of her students, the kindergarten teacher decided to emphasize English instead. This change of curricular focus resulted in complaints from the parents. Consequently, the kindergarten teacher tried to balance the use of Chinese and English in her classroom during the third year. She commented in the interview how difficult it was to strike a workable balance that would please everyone.

As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, the bilingual program design submitted by the consortium to Title VII was developed by educators who had experience mainly with Mexican-American students. They proposed a program based on their insights into the educational demands and needs of these target students. The program was designed for a Mexican-American community, and for students from families who spoke mainly Spanish. These students would enter a maintenance bilingual program in kindergarten and stay within the program through the elementary grades. From the teacher's viewpoint, she or he would have a group of LEP students enrolled in the early grade levels of the bilingual programs. These students would develop their English proficiency, maintain their home language, and learn the standard subject matters through the prescribed bilingual/bicultural instruction. This group of students would remain intact and progress gradually from grade level to grade level.

However, the situation at King School is quite different. The Chinese community in Cherrywood is constantly receiving large numbers of Chinese immigrants and refugees. Most of these people do not speak English, and they come at all age levels. Consequently, the bilingual program at King School serves two types of students with very different needs. The first are students who have no difficulties with English but want to maintain their Chinese language and culture. They might be Chinese who were born in the U.S., who have been in the U.S. since early childhood, or who have acquired adequate English proficiency through the bilingual programs at school. Bilingual education, to these students, is an enrichment program. The second type are those recent immigrants who require bilingual instruction to learn their subject matters. The younger ones of this group might also need Chinese-language instruction to maintain their home language, but most of the older ones have already acquired a high level of proficiency in Chinese through schooling in their native country. Bilingual education, to these students, serves as a remedial education program. Thus, bilingual education at King School serves two different purposes for two different groups of students. At the earlier grade levels, the difference in the educational demands of the two groups of students may not be that pronounced; both groups require development of basic cognitive, social, and fundamental language skills. However, in the higher grades, the differences become more and more significant. The fluent English-speaking group need advanced English-language and elementary Chinese-language development, while the immigrant students demand fundamental English and more advanced Chinese-language instruction. And there are those who are in between the two groups in their bilingual abilities and, therefore, in their educational needs.

The dual role of the bilingual program at King School has caused much confusion and difficulty for the administrators and teachers. New immigrant and refugee students arrive at the school each week, and administrators have to be ready with bilingual programs as required by Title VII regulations and California state law. One possibility is to organize more bilingual classes, but this course is opposed by the nonbilingual teaching staff of King School, since it would involve replacing nonbilingual teachers who have seniority within the school district. The alternative possibility would be to transfer students

already in the bilingual program to other classes, in order to make room for the immigrant students. This has been the course chosen at King School. Administrators or teachers persuade the parents of children with some command of English to transfer their children to a nonbilingual classroom. With the trust of immigrant parents for professional educators, many respect their recommendations and agree to have their children transferred.

With no bilingual master plan in the district and no leadership in the program, the bilingual teachers are left to deal with the many pedagogical problems on their own. They have to provide the standard public school curriculum, formal Chinese-language instruction, and opportunities for the students fluent in English to practice their Chinese. At the same time, they must provide fundamental English-language development and subject-matter instruction, predominantly in Chinese, for the immigrant students. One teacher indicated that during Chinese-language instruction her class is divided into five groups according to their levels. She said she could barely manage all these groups with the help of her aide.

In the next chapter, we will provide a in-depth description of two bilingual classes at King School and how the teachers tried to deal with these difficulties.

CHAPTER VII

THREE BILINGUAL CLASSES AT KING SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION

The research team conducted participatory observation in three bilingual classrooms at King School during the 1980-81 school year: the sixth-, fifth-, and second-grade classes. The sixth- and fifth-grade bilingual classes were located in back-to-back portable classrooms at one end of the school yard, away from the main school building, while the second-grade bilingual classroom is located in the main school building not far from the school office. This chapter will first describe the teachers, the instructional aides, the students, and the organization of these classes. Then it will examine in detail selected lessons from the same classes.

THE SIXTH-GRADE BILINGUAL CLASS

The Classroom

The students' desks were arranged into three double columns, with aisles on both sides of each double column. During the first semester, boys were paired with boys and girls with girls in these double columns (Figure 1). The seating arrangement was changed at the beginning of the second semester, when in each double column a child was paired with a member of the opposite sex (Figure 2). The teacher, Mr. Siu, made the change because the children had become so friendly with their neighbors that they were getting too noisy during the lessons. Another reason he gave was the advantages of seating an English-dominant child with a Chinese-dominant child so that they could help each other with their language skills.

The classroom was usually decorated with posters and charts. All were in English except the math chart, which had Chinese translations underneath the English terms to illustrate the various math operations and concepts. During the Christmas season, Teacher A had the students decorate the class bulletin boards themselves; their work on this project constituted their art grades. The class also did drawings to compete in the art contests for special days such as Halloween, Martin Luther King's birthday, and Chinese New Year. Those drawings not selected for special exhibitions were displayed in the classroom. Bilingual posters and artworks were in full display only during the Chinese New Year celebrations.

The Students

At the beginning of our observation, there was a total of 30 students (15 boys and 15 girls) in this sixth-grade bilingual class. In the middle of November, a girl who had just come from China joined the class. All 31 children were of Chinese ancestry. Out of these 31 students, ten were born in the United States and were second- or third-

Figure 1: Seating Chart for the 6th Grade Bilingual Class, First Semester.

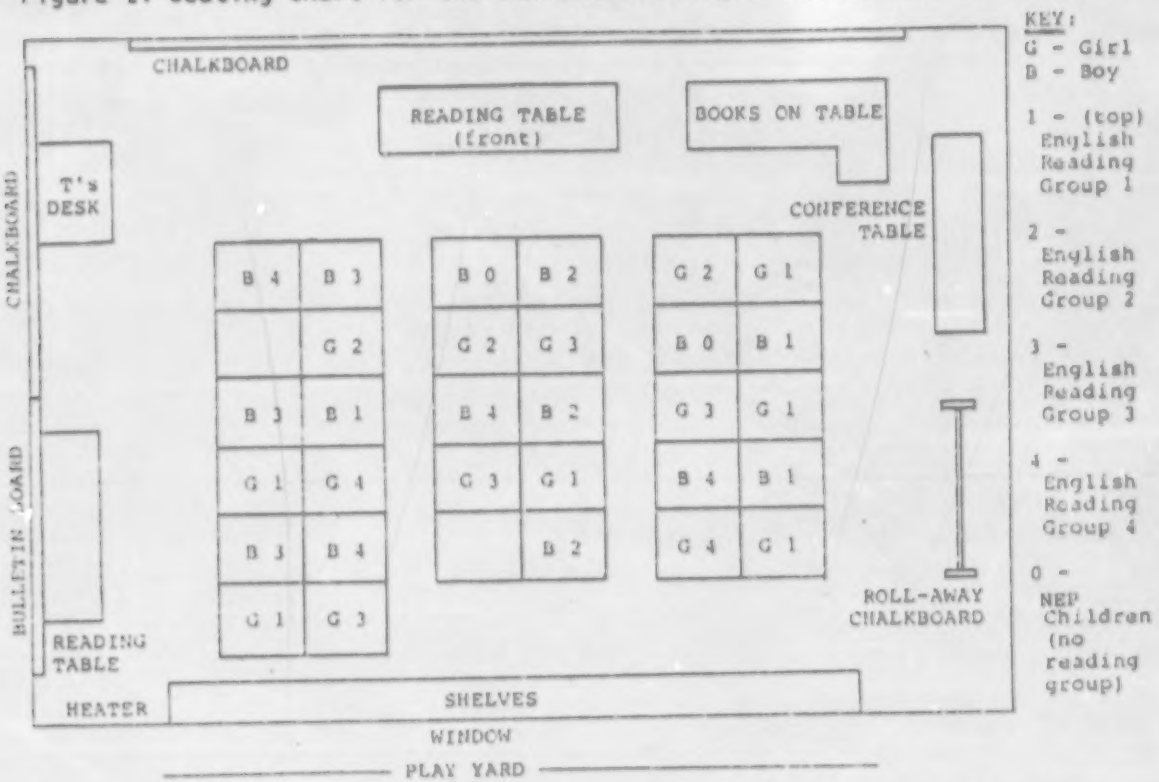
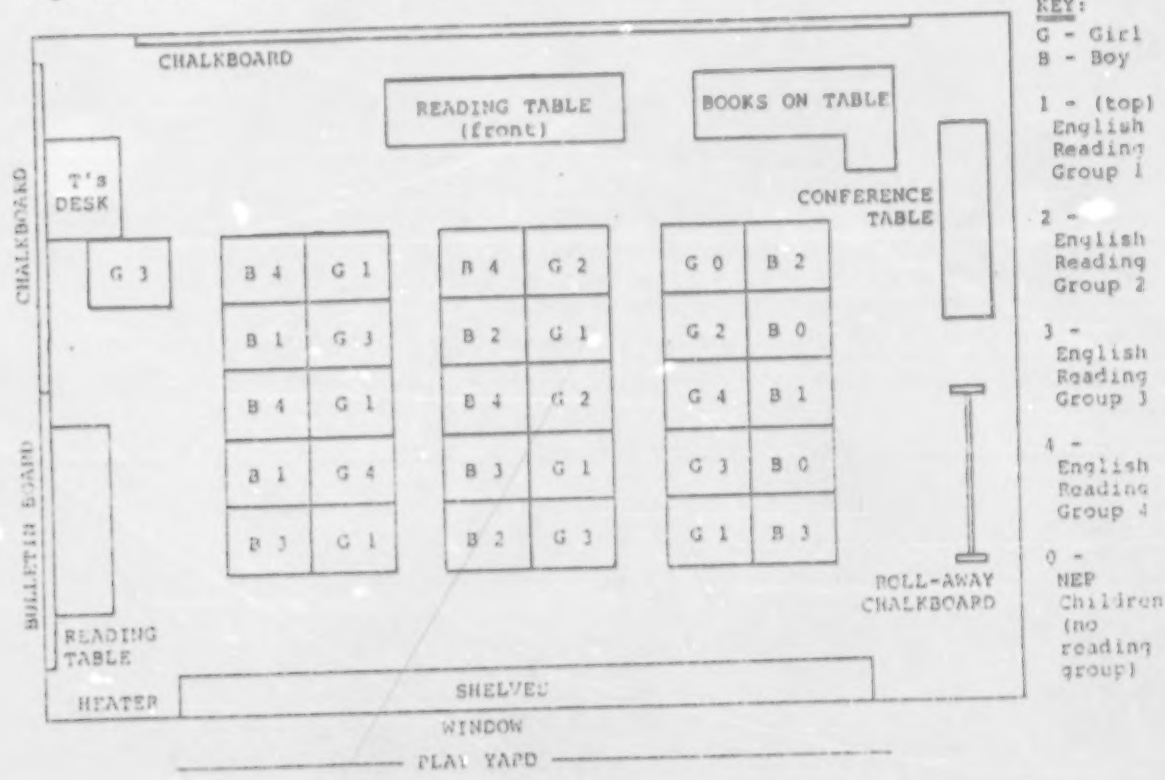


Figure: Seating Chart for the 6th Grade Bilingual Class, Second Semester.



generation Chinese-Americans. Table 1 shows their length of residence in the U.S.

Table 1
Sixth-Grade Bilingual Room
Students' Length of Residence in U.S.

Years of Residence	Immigrants 0-2	3-6	7-10	U.S.-born 11+	Total
Number of Students	11	6	4	10	31

Out of the 21 foreign-born children, nine were born in Hong Kong, eight in China, and one each in Macao, Burma, Vietnam, and France. With the exception of one boy whose home language was English, the rest of the class reported Cantonese or one of the regional Cantonese dialects as the dominant language used at home. The American-born children reported using a mixture of English and Chinese when speaking with their parents and older relatives.

Mr. Siu pointed out (Teacher Interview 109, p. 3) that three or four of his twelve-year-old children had been in only the second or third grade in China before they immigrated. These students were far behind in all the sixth-grade subjects, besides having to deal with language problems.

The Teacher

Mr. Siu was born and raised in Hong Kong. He received his college degree and had graduate training in Japan. He taught at junior grade levels for eight years in Hong Kong prior to coming to the United States in 1976. Upon his arrival, he enrolled in a local university to get his bilingual teaching credentials. Then he worked as a bilingual teacher in the school district OBE. In that capacity, he went to four or five different schools to provide bilingual instruction to the LEP children. Half a year later, he became the sixth-grade bilingual room teacher at King School. This school year (1980-81) was his third at the school.

Mr. Siu is a native speaker of Cantonese and is also fluent in Mandarin. He seems equally comfortable in English and Chinese. He can also speak, read, and write fluently in Japanese due to his years of study in Japan. He said that he uses Cantonese at home with his wife and children and frequently converses with the other bilingual staff in Cantonese. Mr. Siu considered his teaching experience in Hong Kong to be bilingual, "because in Hong Kong they use mostly English, and you use Chinese from time to time to help" (Teacher Interview No. 109, p. 1). He saw his role as a bilingual teacher here as similar to that in Hong Kong.

In the interview, Mr. Siu indicated that teaching students the English language is the first objective of his class. He also said that he avoided using the translation method in class and tried not to repeat his English instructions in Chinese. In that way, his LEP students would be forced into listening to English and could not rely on the Chinese translation. (An in-depth analysis of language use in the classrooms will be presented in Chapter X.) When asked to describe the bilingual program he followed, Mr. Siu answered:

> I think we have the maintenance, more or less. . . . Maintenance and actually multicultural, because even in social sciences, we're trying to touch on different cultures, and it is bilingual in a sense that I'm using both languages to teach. But as far as the content of the subjects, they are multicultural. And of course we have Chinese hours, and in those hours, we learn Chinese reading and writing and Chinese cultures, and sometimes we learn about other cultures than Chinese too. (Teacher Interview no. 109, p. 4)

Instructional Aide

Mr. Siu had the services of an instructional aide from 11 a.m. until 3 p.m. every day. There used to be a full-time instructional aide in each bilingual classroom, but when Title VII funding for the program ended, this staff was reduced to half-time. The aide was from Hong Kong and did not have formal training in teaching. She had been an aide for two years.

Mr. Siu assigned to his aide the responsibility of teaching and supervising the LEP children. Mr. Siu stated in the interview that "the main job of the aide in my room is to help the slower ones catch up. So that way, she's helping me instead of running off dittos and all that" (Teacher Interview no. 109, p. 4). However, she did not seem to have much authority over the children.

Grouping

The sixth-grade class was grouped in two ways: (1) according to the students' English reading levels for the English-language lessons and (2) according to the students' Chinese proficiency for the Chinese-language lessons.

English Reading Groups. There were four reading groups in the sixth-grade bilingual class: Galaxy (Group 1) the highest group, reading at the sixth-grade level; Kaleidoscope (Group 2), reading at the fourth-grade level; Panoramas (Group 3), reading at the third-grade level; and Rainbows (Group 4), the lowest group, reading at only primer level. The three most recent immigrant children did not belong to any of the English reading groups. They were the so-called non-English speaking (NEP) children and were not considered to be ready yet for any English reading groups.

There seemed to be a high correlation between the children's years of residence in this country and their reading level. All of the nine

children in the top reading group had been in the bilingual program since their kindergarten days. Seven of them were American-born; only two were immigrant children. The latter two, however, had been in this country for more than eight years. There were six children in Group 2. Four of them had been in the bilingual program since kindergarten. Three were American-born. The other three were immigrants: two had been here for more than seven years and one had been here for over four years. In Group 3, there were seven children. All except one had been in this country for more than three but less than seven years. The one exception was a boy from Hong Kong who had been here for less than a year. Six children, all recent immigrants (with less than two years in the United States) belonged to Group 4. They were generally referred to by the teacher and aide as the LEP children. They were still reading at the primer level and worked mainly under the supervision of the aide during reading and language hours. Like the NEP children, they also received special pullout ESL instruction one hour per day. Over the course of the year, one boy and one girl in the group stopped receiving ESL instruction as it was determined that they had picked up enough English. It seemed to be the practice in the school to move the children out of the ESL classes as soon as possible in order to make room for the newcomers who trickled in throughout the whole school year.

Chinese Reading Groups. The sixth-grade bilingual class combined with the fifth-grade bilingual class for their Chinese lessons. The Chinese text used for the Chinese lesson was the Golden Mountain Reading Series, a Chinese reading series developed by a Chinese bilingual education program at an elementary school in San Francisco.

The students in the two classes were divided into four Chinese reading groups. The top reading group had nine students, all sixth-graders, and was taught by Mr. Siu in the sixth-grade classroom. It was referred to as the Level 9 Chinese group, the highest such group at King School. The next highest Chinese reading group was Level 6 (there were no Level 7 or Level 8 Chinese in the school). This group had six sixth-graders and four fifth-graders. There were seven sixth-graders and twelve fifth-graders in Level 5 Chinese reading. These two groups were taught by the fifth-grade teacher and aide in the fifth-grade classroom. The lowest Chinese reading group was the Level 4 group. There were six sixth-graders and eleven fifth-graders in this group, which was taught by the sixth-grade instructional aide in that class.

Three NEP students did not participate in any Chinese lessons at all. They attended ESL class during the Chinese hours. When they returned to the room, they generally worked on their own without supervision. Another two NEP students were included in Level 5 Chinese. However, both also had their ESL lessons during the Chinese hours and joined the class when they returned to the room at noon. Their active participation in the Chinese lesson seemed to be voluntary. One boy would work on the Chinese assignment right away; the other did not seem to want to be a part of the Chinese group and would either do nothing or read his Chinese comic books.

In contrast to the English reading groups — where proficiency corresponded closely with the students' length of residence in this country — length of residence did not seem to have much relationship with Chinese reading levels. For example, in the highest Chinese reading group there were two American-born children, while in the lowest group there were two recent immigrant students classified as LEP. The first two, like many other American-born and long-term immigrant children in these two classes, had developed or maintained their Chinese literacy by attending the after-school Chinese program where they had two hours of Chinese lessons five days a week. The last two were ethnic Chinese immigrants from the Indochina peninsula and had not received any formal Chinese instruction in their native country.

A Typical Day

A typical day began at 9:00 a.m. when the bell rang. The children would line up outside of their portable classrooms in two lines — boys and girls separately — and take turns entering the room first. There were five officieal periods in each school day: 9:00-10:00, 10:10-11:00, 11:10-12:30, 1:15-1:55, and 2:05-3:05. The actual division and usage of

Table II
Sixth-Grade Bilingual Classroom Daily Schedule

	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI
9:00 - 9:10	Class business				
9:10 - 10:00	Reading (Music)	Library	Science	Science	Reading
10:10 - 11:00	Math				
11:10 - 12:30	Reading (Language)	Reading	Chinese	Language	Chinese
12:30 - 1:15	Lunch/Recess				
1:15 - 1:30	Silent Reading				
1:30 - 1:55	Language	Block Math	Art (Music)	Social Science	Language
2:05 - 3:05	PE	PE	Art (Reading)	Reading	PE

the periods were less clear-cut and were determined by Mr. Siu according to his weekly plan. For example, the first period usually began with five, ten, or fifteen minutes of class business such as collecting book-order forms, lunch monies, permission slips for field trips, or discussing class cookie sales. On the Mondays observed in the sixth-grade room, the first period could be a reading lesson, a music lesson, a science class, or a school assembly to see a stage production. An art lesson in the fourth period could easily be carried over to the fifth period. The daily schedule for Room A presented in Table II is at best, then, approximate and generalized.

The table indicates that math hours were the most regular and fixed, while the hours for language and reading lessons were often interchangeable. The hours for Chinese lessons, held jointly with the fifth-grade bilingual room, were fixed at the third period on Wednesday and Friday. However, because of this joint arrangement, the Chinese lessons were most susceptible to cancellation if, for example, one of the four teaching adults was sick or one of the two classes was taking a standardized test or going on a field trip.

The flexibility, however, did not seem to create any confusion or chaos. Every morning Mr. Siu would put his daily schedule for the five periods on the chalkboard. For example:

June 6, 1981
How Animals Grow
Math
Chinese
Spelling
Specific skills

Mr. Siu would then follow this schedule quite closely.

THE FIFTH-GRADE BILINGUAL CLASS

The Classroom

At the beginning of the school year, the students' desks were arranged into three double columns with aisles on both sides of each. Because of a shortage of desks, the NEP children who joined the class late were seated at one of the two tables at the left side of the room (see Figure 3). In the middle of the first semester the teacher, Mrs. Lee, rearranged the seating by adding one column of desks to the left side of the room for the NEP children, in order to incorporate them into the rest of the class (see Figure 4). This arrangement remained through the rest of the school year.

Mrs. Lee did not seem to have any particular design for her seating charts; boys and girls seemed to be randomly mixed. The double and triple columns were not rigidly maintained. New double columns were formed by manipulating the aisle space. From time to time, the fifth-grade class consisted of seven independent columns with space between each column. Students stayed at their own seats only during whole-class lessons such as P.E., art, and science. For the other lessons, they were divided and seated with their own groups.

The four walls of the classroom were decorated with art projects the class had done over the school year, such as Peking opera masks, paper T-shirts, posters made out of their own names, etc. During the presidential elections, Mrs. Lee decorated the bulletin board with pictures and news stories on the presidency and the presidential candidates. After the New Year, this display was replaced by each child's New Year's resolutions. Most of the displays were in English except during the Chinese New Year celebrations. Toward the end of the school year, Mrs. Lee put up bilingual geometry diagrams around the room to explain the various geometric concepts.

Figure 3: Seating Chart for the 5th Grade Bilingual Class, First Semester.

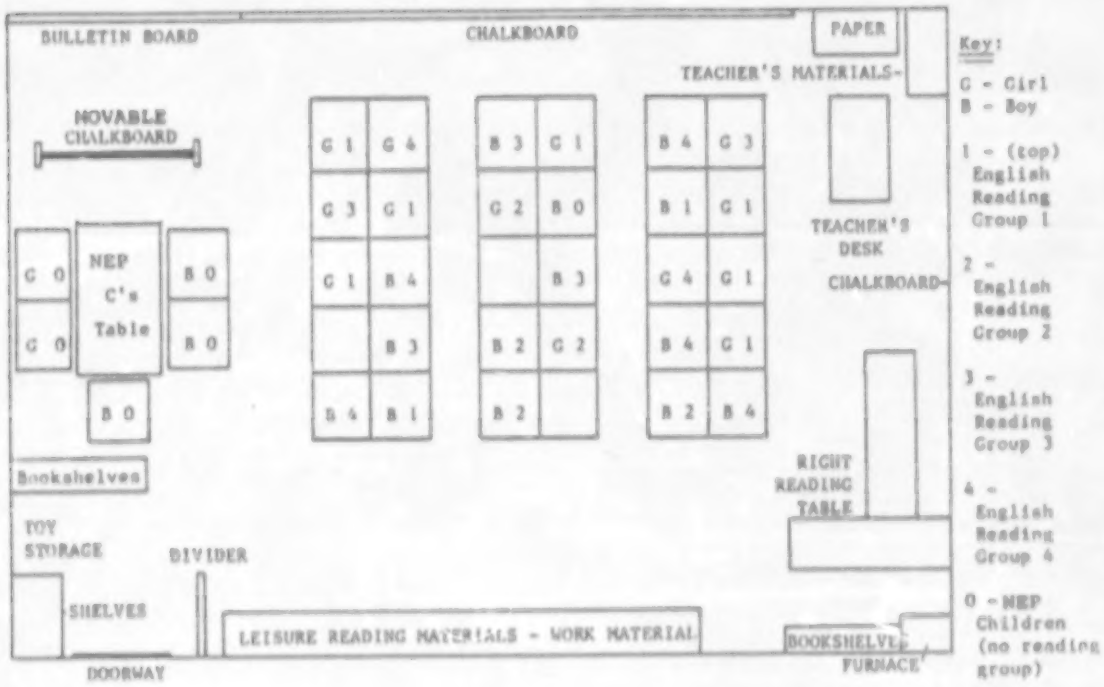
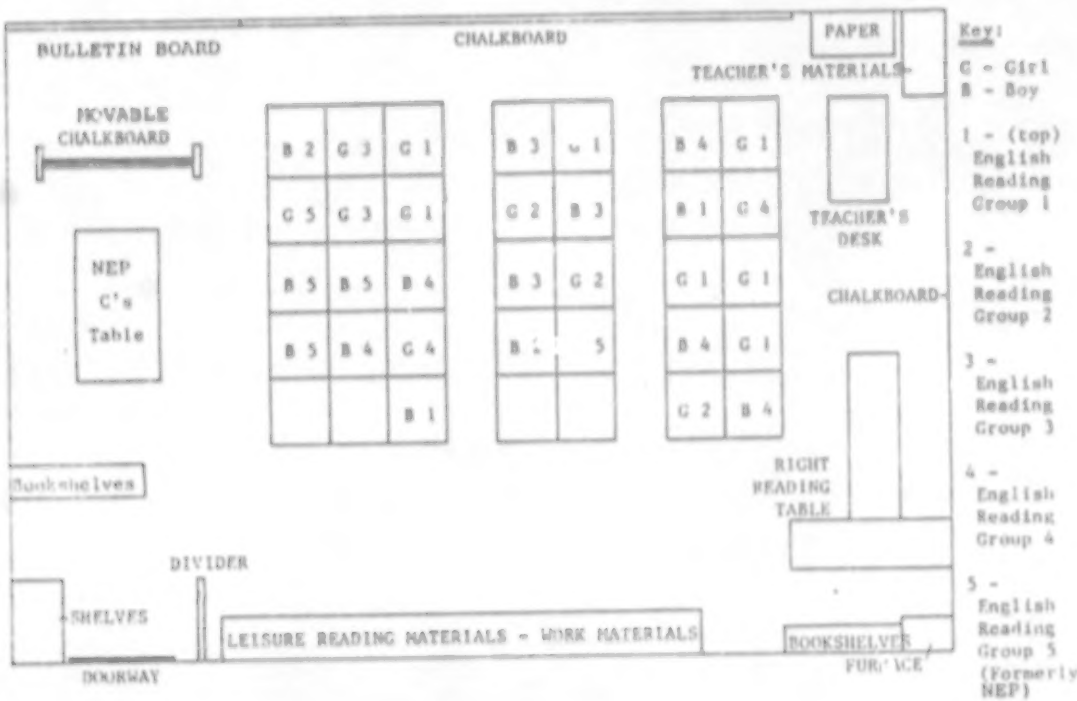


Figure 4: Seating Chart for the 5th Grade Bilingual Class, Second Semester.



The Students

There were 35 students in the fifth-grade bilingual classroom at the beginning of the school year. Early into the school year, two LEP students, one who spoke Mandarin and one who spoke Taishan, were moved to another classroom. The class enrollment for the greater part of the year was, thus, 17 boys and 16 girls. Out of these 33 students, there were 12 American-born and 21 immigrant children. All but one boy were Chinese. This boy was of one-quarter Chinese ethnic background. In the middle of the second semester, this boy's father transferred him to a school near his residence in a neighboring school district, leaving the class with 32 students. Table 2 shows the length of residence in the U.S. of the 32 students.

Table 3
Fifth-Grade Bilingual Room
Students' Length of Residence in U.S.

Years of Residence	Immigrants 0-2	3-5	6-9	American-born or 10+	Total
Number of Students	12	2	7	11	32

In this room, ten out of the 21 immigrant children were born in China, seven in Hong Kong, and two each in Vietnam and Burma. With the exception of one boy whose home languages were English and Mandarin, the rest of the class reported Cantonese or one of the regional Cantonese dialects as their home languages. The American-born and long-term immigrant children reported a mixture of English and Cantonese usage at home and with their peers. Only two reported exclusive use of English with their peers.

The Teacher

Mrs. Lee was born and grew up in Hong Kong. There she studied English in college and taught English at a grade school for 13 years before immigrating to the United States. After arriving in California, she studied at a local university and received her California teaching credentials. She taught at another elementary school in Cherrywood for two years before becoming a certified bilingual teacher at King School in 1975.

Mrs. Lee is a native speaker of Cantonese and can also speak Mandarin very fluently. Since she started teaching at King School, she has also picked up enough Taishan to communicate with Taishan-speaking students and parents. She said that she uses both Cantonese and English with her husband and her two sons. She and Mr. Siu have developed a close friendship over the years and often had lunch together in her room.

Mrs. Lee had the same views on bilingual education and on the priority for the students of learning English as Mr. Siu. She said during an interview: "I think that the biggest need is we try to help them to acquire enough English so that they can survive. In case when they go up to junior high or leave this school district, they can still be able to function in a regular classroom" (Teacher Interview no. 111, p. 3). She called her program "maintenance," because Chinese reading and writing were taught. She stated that bilingual education:

> definitely meets the need of these (immigrant) children because when they first come to this country, everything is new to them and when they find that the teacher speaks their language and can explain to them most of the concepts that they're not familiar with, or even customs that they're not familiar with, then they feel so much more confident of themselves because they're not left out of place when nobody can explain to them what's going on. (Teacher Interview No. 111, p.5)

Instructional Aide

Mrs. Lee also had the help of a part-time aide who used to work in the room from 11:10 a.m. to 3 p.m. In the middle of the second semester, her hours were changed to 9:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. The aide was also born, raised, and educated in Hong Kong. She was a school teacher there before immigrating to the United States, and was Mrs. Lee's personal friend and schoolmate. The aide's English was fluent and native-like and her Chinese was excellent. Mrs. Lee assigned her to teach Level 6 Chinese (the highest Chinese level for fifth-graders). Besides Cantonese, she also spoke Shanghainese and Mandarin fluently.

Unlike the aide in the sixth-grade class, this aide had very good control over her students. When children became rowdy, she would rap them on the head with her knuckle or a ruler, or she would give them a lengthy lecture on how to behave. The LEP children, whose education was her main responsibility in the class, showed her a lot of respect and seldom acted out of turn under her eyes.

Grouping

The fifth-grade class was also grouped according to the students' English reading levels for the English-language lessons and then according to their Chinese proficiency for the Chinese-language lessons.

English grouping. In the fifth-grade bilingual class, there were also four reading groups and a group of five NEP children, the most recent immigrants, who did not belong to any English reading groups. However, right before the end of the first semester, these NEP children had acquired enough English to start reading Rainbows, a reading primer. Toward the end of the second semester, they began to read Signposts, the first-grade reading text. This group of NEP children showed much faster progress than the three NEP children in the sixth-grade class. The latter were not introduced into the reading series at all throughout the entire school year. When asked, both Mrs. Lee and her aide attributed their NEP children's faster pace to the children

themselves. They both thought that these NEP children were the best they had ever taught. The four regular reading groups were: Images (Group 1), the top reading group, reading at the fifth-grade level; Kaleidoscopes (Group 2), reading at the fourth-grade level; Panoramas (Group 3), reading at the third-grade level; and Signposts (Group 4), reading at the first-grade level.

As in the sixth-grade class, there was a strong correlation between the children's years of residence in this country and their English reading level. In Group 1, four out of the nine-member group were American-born, and the other five had been here for more than six years. All of the nine children had been in the bilingual program since their kindergarten days. There were six members in Group 2; all but one were American-born. The one immigrant in the group had been in the country for five years. In Group 3, two out of five were American-born, two had been here for six years, and only one boy was a recent immigrant who had come here from Vietnam less than two years ago. All Group 4 members (the LEP children) except one had been in the United States for no more than two years and no less than one and a half years. The one exception was a girl from Burma who had been here for three years but had not been able to catch up.

Chinese Reading Groups. As described earlier, the fifth-grade bilingual class combined with the sixth-grade class for the Chinese-language lessons; their groupings will not be repeated here.

A Typical Day

The daily schedule of the fifth-grade bilingual class was similar to that of the sixth-grade class (Table 4). Math was also scheduled at the

Table 4
Fifth-Grade Bilingual Classroom Daily Schedule

	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI
9:00 - 9:10	Pledge Allegiance ——— Class Business				
9:10 - 10:00	Math			Library	Science/PE
10:10 - 11:00	Language	Language	Language	Math	Math
11:10 - 12:30	Reading (Language)	Reading	Chinese	Reading	Chinese
12:30 - 1:1	——— Lunch/Recess ———				
1:15 - 1:30	PE	Social Sciences	Art/ Music	Health	Language/ PE
1:30 - 1:55	Language	Block Math	Art (Music)	Social Science	Language
2:05 - 3:05	PE	PE	Art (Reading)	Reading	PE

second period of the day, five days a week. After lunch there was silent reading for 30 minutes every day, while the sixth-grade class only had about 15 minutes. In the second semester, math was switched to the first period of the day for three days a week. Mrs. Lee explained that the schedule was changed to allow a NEP girl to participate in the whole class' math lessons; this NEP girl's ESL class had been changed from first to second period. On Mondays, the first 20 minutes or so would be devoted to the pledge of allegiance and a bilingual discussion of current events. After lunch recess, no more silent reading was scheduled. From time to time, or when the weather was particularly warm, Mrs. Lee would allow the children to rest for about ten minutes after lunch recess. The daily schedule for the fifth-grade class presented in Table 4 is thus, also, generalized and approximate.

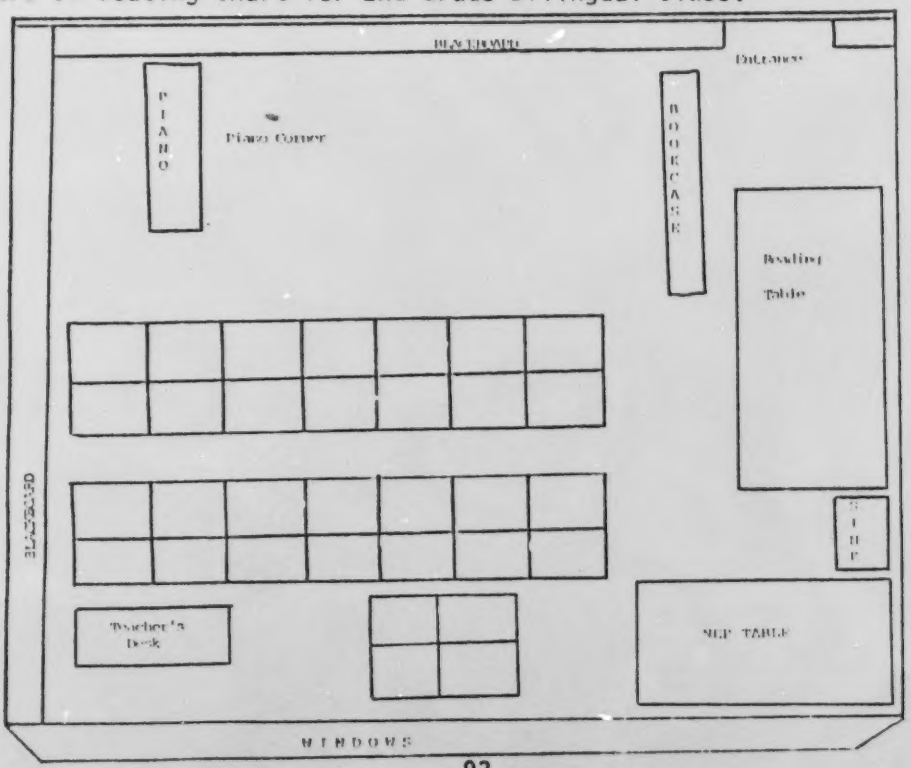
In general, Mrs. Lee's fifth-grade class schedule spent slightly more time on English-language lessons while Mr. Siu's schedule had one extra science class.

THE SECOND-GRADE BILINGUAL CLASS

The Classroom

The general classroom configuration is shown in Figure 5. The entrance to the classroom is at one corner. Diagonally across is the teacher's desk, which sits behind two double rows of student desks. The students' desks are arranged facing each other; those at the end of a row face inward. At the back of the room near the windows is a table labeled "NEP table." It is here that the NEP children, even though they are assigned regular desks, spend all their time.

Figure 5: Seating Chart for 2nd Grade Bilingual Class.



The Students

The classroom had 30 students, all Chinese, except for one boy with half-Japanese ancestry and another with half-black ancestry. Of the 18 boys and 12 girls, 10 were from Hong Kong, 9 were born in the U.S., 8 were from China, 2 from Vietnam, and one from Burma.

The teacher

The teacher of the second-grade bilingual class was Mrs. Fong, a Chinese woman in her early thirties. She came from Hong Kong to the U.S. when she was eleven and had lived in Northern California since that time. Mrs. Fong was a native speaker of Cantonese and Taishan. She worked as a bilingual intern in a nearby city for three years before she assumed her current position at King School. She had been with the bilingual program for seven years. Mrs. Fong described to the researchers the difficulties she had in acquiring English. The language did not come easily to her and she had to spend long hours studying and practicing. She even had to enroll in special pronunciation classes to improve her English diction. The hardship she went through in order to acquire English had a strong effect on the way she viewed the education of the immigrant children. For her, the acquisition of English was paramount and she saw this as her single most important objective in her class. Also, Mrs. Fong often mentioned the pressure on the bilingual teachers to demonstrate that their students could achieve as well in English as the students of the nonbilingual classes and that she had to make sure that her children would turn in decent scores in the year-end CTBS testing. These two factors probably led Mrs. Fong to focus her classroom instruction on English development and especially on phonics. Seldom did the researchers observe any bilingual instruction in the classroom. Mrs. Fong was cognizant that she was teaching a maintenance bilingual class in which weekly Chinese reading and writing lessons were supposed to feature and that the students were supposed to receive grades for the Chinese class on their report cards. However, except for a few occasions when visitors were present to observe her class, no such lessons were observed by the researchers. (She did conduct several Chinese lessons in the last two weeks of school, when all state and district testing was completed.) When parents inquired about the absence of grades on the Chinese classes, Mrs. Fong answered that she did not have time to teach them Chinese.

Instructional Aide

The instructional aide in the class was also Chinese, but had only been in the U.S. for about two years. She was a fluent speaker of Cantonese, Taishan, and Mandarin, but her English was somewhat limited and she could not communicate with the monolingual English speakers. She assisted in the second-grade classroom in the mornings. Mrs. Fong assigned her the main function of taking care of the NEP students.

Grouping

The students were divided into four groups throughout the school day; the grouping was done primarily on the basis of English proficiency. In the first group were the highest English achievers. The second group consisted of those reading at the first-grade level. The third group consisted of LEP students and the last group of the recent immigrant NEP students.

Typical Day

The students came to the class on a staggered schedule. Students in Group 1 through 3 came to school at 9:00 a.m. and left at 2:00 p.m. The fourth group, the NEP students, came to school at 10:00 to attend an hour of instruction with the ESL teacher, joined the second-grade class at 11:00 a.m., and left school at 3:00 p.m.

A typical day in the class began at 9:00 a.m. with a brief talk by Mrs. Fong to the three groups of students (the NEP students were not in class yet) in the piano corner. The talk varied from day to day, and ranged in topics from school safety rules to major incidents of the previous day. The talk was always conducted in English. After the talk, Mrs. Fong gave each of the three groups an assignment in reading and/or language arts. Assignments included activities like checking worksheets, playing word Bingo games, copying sentences from the chalkboard, or copying word definitions from the dictionary. Mrs. Fong usually took charge of one group of students at the reading table. In general, she would begin by going over homework with her group. She used English almost exclusively. The aide met with another group at their desks. She usually conducted one of four activities: (1) playing Bingo games; (2) reading work definitions from the dictionary; (3) going over worksheets; or (4) doing math workbooks with the students. The third group would congregate at the piano corner playing various educational games of work individually on a variety of worksheets at their desks. If time permitted, the groups might rotate, but often so much time was spent getting organized and moving the children about that not enough was left for the groups after the rotation.

After the morning recess at 11:15, the NEP students joined the class. They took their seats at their specified NEP table and were instructed by the aide until lunchtime at noon. The instruction consisted of basic English, math, and other activities like cutting, pasting, and coloring. Mrs. Fong believed that this group of immigrant students should start from the most basic level, and had borrowed many worksheets from the kindergarten and first-grade teachers for the aide to use with them. While the aide was with the NEP students, the teacher would go over homework or class assignments with a second group, and the other two groups would do independent seatwork.

After lunch, the teacher would usually give the class a short rest period and have them close their eyes and rest their heads on the desk. Then she would ask the first three groups of students to move over to the piano corner, and, for the next 20-25 minutes, talk on a variety of topics which included, at one time or another, phonics,

grammar, story reading, and discipline. With the time remaining until 2:00 p.m., these three groups of students were free to work on worksheets, read library books or the dictionary, or play educational games.

Since the aide was only present for the morning, the NEP group was left on their own during this period. They were given a variety of seatwork assignments to do, such as writing the alphabet, their names, or greetings in English, working on math, or coloring, cutting, and pasting. If they finished their assignments, they could choose one of several free-time activities such as reading, playing games, etc. On the days when the researcher was presnet, Mrs. Fong would ask the researcher to work with this group of students as the aide in the morning.

After the other three groups went home at 2:00 p.m., Mrs. Fong would turn her attention to the NEP groups and give them ESL instructions. She would first review what had been taught the day before and then proceed to new letters of the alphabet, new sounds, or new works in English. Her emphasis was on the correct pronunciation of the vowels and consonants. The instruction was mostly in English, and she only used Chinese when it was necessary to explain what she wanted the children to do. Mrs. Fong's time with the NEP students was frequently interrupted when she kept some students from the other groups after school either as a punishment or for cramming sessions to prepare for upcoming tests. On these occasions, more seatwork would be given to the NEP students and Mrs. Fong would work with the others.

THE LESSONS

In this section, five different lessons will be described to demonstrate the actual conduct of the bilingual classes.

Fifth-Grade Reading Lesson

Reading was always conducted in the small-group format. Mrs. Lee, the fifth-grade teacher, usually had reading with only the three top reading groups — Images, Kaleidoscopes, and Panoramas. She would call the children of a particular group to sit in the right front section of the room for a reading lesson, while the other two groups would work on their workbooks. The aide would work with the LEP and NEP groups when they were not at their ESL classes. Two reading tables were reserved for them: the one on the left was usually for the NEP group, the one on the right for the LEP reading group.

Mrs. Lee could usually handle only two groups per reading period, even though this period of the day was particularly long. She would spend about 15 to 20 minutes with each group. Throughout the period, there were a lot of interactions among the students who were doing their seatwork, and the noise level, though acceptable, was quite high. Some of these students would also ask the teacher questions, interrupting Mrs. Lee's instruction (when the aide was present, there seemed to be less noise and distraction in class). Mrs. Lee's reading lesson consisted mainly of spelling, vocabulary, and reading unit tests and test reviews. She used English almost exclusively with these

groups, especially with the two upper groups. With Group 3, she would occasionally use Chinese to explain new concepts and ideas.

The aide used mostly Chinese to teach the LEP/NEP students new words and concepts. English dialogues in the reading text would be read to the group and then explained and discussed in Chinese by the aide. The transcription of a reading lesson is included in Appendix B.

Sixth-Grade Math Lesson

Math lessons usually began with the whole class correcting their homework from the previous day. Mr. Siu would be in the front of the room reading out the correct answers while the children, having exchanged their homework papers, graded each other's work. Then he would collect the papers and look them over quickly to see where the problem areas were for the class in general. Sometimes he would then review these areas before he went on to lecture on a new math topic. Before a new lesson, there was usually a short period of time for the children to go up to ask the teacher questions regarding the correctness of their answers and their classmates' grading of their papers. Other students would discuss and compare their homework scores with their friends. The students were highly competitive about their scores.

After Mr. Siu had explained the new concepts and solved a few exercise problems on the chalkboard with the class, a new assignment would be given. The faster children would have actually started on the assignment before the teacher even finished with his instructions. If word problems were involved, Mr. Siu would call the NEP, LEP, and some of the Reading Group 3 children to the front table for a small group instruction. Chinese would be used during this time to explain the English problems in the math text. Otherwise, math was usually conducted mostly in English to the whole class (see Chapter IX for a detailed discussion of language use in the math lesson). Sometimes a LEP/NEP child or two would raise questions or answer the teacher's questions in Chinese in front of the whole class. Mr. Siu discouraged the use of Chinese on these occasions, especially when he thought the child knew how to speak in English. However, Mr. Siu would not hesitate to use Chinese individually with NEP, LEP, and a few other children with math problems when he realized that they still did not know how to solve the problems correctly.

Right before the period ended, Mr. Siu would give out the homework assignment. Most of the students would start their homework right away and many gave up their ten-minute recess. Some of the NEP and LEP children told the observer that they wanted to finish their math homework in school because their friends or the aide could explain the problems they did not understand. At home, they would have no one to help them. When the students had finished with their class and homework assignments, they were to proceed to do "block math" on their own. Block math is an individualized math learning program. When children finish a set of problems, they can correct the answers against the answer key. If they get the right number of answers correct, they may then proceed to the next level of problems.

Chinese Language Lesson

Chinese lessons, as mentioned earlier, were conducted jointly by the teachers and aides from the fifth- and sixth-grade bilingual classes, at the third period (11:10 – 12:30) on Wednesdays and Fridays. This was the longest period of the day; it was scheduled to last 80 minutes. However, after about 50 minutes of class time the students usually became restless and started chatting or moving around. The teacher and the aide often had to conclude their lessons after about one hour and let the students get ready for lunch.

During the Chinese period, the sixth-grade class was divided in two by a movable chalkboard. Thus, Level 9 Chinese could be conducted in the left one-third of the room, while Level 4 Chinese took up the rest of the room on the right. Level 4 Chinese had ten members from the fifth-grade room who would come to the sixth-grade bilingual room at this hour. The aide would take charge of the Level 4 Chinese group.

Mr. Siu's Chinese lessons consisted of introducing new vocabulary, testing students on old vocabulary, discussing how to write the strokes in a character, explaining the derivation of modern-day characters from the ancient forms, and recording and discussing the text with frequent explanations on the literal and implied meanings of certain words. Mr. Siu always tried to make the Chinese lesson interesting by bringing in his own experiences growing up in Hong Kong.

The aide's Chinese lesson consisted of reading from the text, repetitive writing of new words, doing various types of dictations, making sentences with new words, correcting wrong strokes in the words, and reciting essays from memory. Perhaps due to the aide's friendly and mother-like relationship to the children, she had a hard time correcting them. There seemed to be a lot less time spent on the task by each child. There was also a lot less discussion of the text.

In the fifth-grade room, the Level 5 Chinese students would sit at the desks on the right side of the room, and Level 6 Chinese students on the left side. The aide would have her Level 6 students turn their desks to face the left wall, so that their backs were turned to Mrs. Lee's group. Sometimes Mrs. Lee would also have her group move their desks to face the chalkboard on the right side of the room; the two groups were, thus, back to back with each other. It was not easy conducting Chinese lessons with two large groups in the same room, but Mrs. Lee and her aide managed to avoid having their groups read aloud at the same time.

Mrs. Lee's Chinese lesson usually started with an introduction on the background materials of the lesson for the day. She would then explain some of the harder words in the lesson and write them out on the board stroke by stroke. Then the group would read the whole lesson, which was usually a short passage in Chinese, before they copied the lesson character by character into their Chinese writing booklets. Mrs. Lee would walk around to check and comment on each child's writing. She would give individuals praise or corrections. Sometimes she

would ask a child to recite the lesson from memory, if the child seemed to know the lesson very well. Sometimes she would ask her group to make up sentences with the new words introduced on the chalkboard. This could be done either orally or as a writing exercise. When she had covered an entire lesson, Mrs. Lee would give quizzes and Chinese dictations on that lesson as a review. From time to time, Mrs. Lee was observed to use English in her Chinese lessons — perhaps for the benefit of the English-dominant children in her group.

The aide's lesson to the Level 6 Chinese group looked very much like that of Mrs. Lee's, except that the aide conducted her lesson almost entirely in Chinese. Only a couple of complicated words would be given in English to help with the explanation. The aide also seemed to spend more time discussing the derivation of modern-day characters from their older forms, the correct order in which to write the strokes of a character, and the background information on the lesson.

Common to all the four groups was that a lot of class time was spent on writing exercises.

Fifth-Grade Social Science Lesson

In the fifth-grade bilingual room, the social science class was scheduled at the fifth period on Tuesdays. That period was only 40 minutes long, the shortest period of the day. Mrs. Lee's lesson usually started with a brief introduction in English and Chinese on the filmstrip the class was about to see. The filmstrip, which used only English, would be rolled. About every five minutes or so, Mrs. Lee would stop the film, rewind it to where it had started last, and explain in Chinese what had happened so far for the benefit of the NEP and LEP children, all but one of whom were present in class. She would then show the portion of the filmstrip again and ask the class one or two questions in English and Chinese about it. (An in-depth discussion of language use in the social science lesson is presented in Chapter IX.)

Mrs. Lee's social science lessons had covered all fifty states, grouped by region, in the filmstrips prepared by the National Geographic Society. Each child had a supplementary text that corresponded to the filmstrip series. While viewing the filmstrip, some children would write down the appropriate facts they had just learned into their booklets. At the end of the showing, Mrs. Lee would call on some of the children to read what they had written about a certain state. In the next social science class, she would usually give a quiz on what the class had learned the previous week.

Sixth-Grade Science Lesson

The first period every Wednesday was for a science lesson. This particular lesson was conducted by a prep teacher (a teacher who relieved the homeroom teacher one hour per week so that the latter could prepare his or her lessons). This prep teacher, a monolingual Euro-American woman, conducted her lesson entirely in English. Most of the time the NEP/LEP children were left out in her explanations of the concepts. She was aware of the difficulty and used many hands-on

exercises and even science-related artwork so that the NEP/LEP students could be involved to some degree. However, these students' English was, in general, too limited for them to participate fully in her instruction. Some of the NEP/LEP students were highly motivated. They enlisted their fluent English-speaking classmates' help and participated in the lesson through their translations and explanations. In fact, observation indicated that there were many peer-tutoring activities between the fluent English-speaking and the NEP/LEP students in all lessons. However, the NEP/LEP students had to take the initiative in asking for help and, during this science class, most of them simply gave up listening to the teacher's instruction.

CONCLUSION

The above descriptions show the diverse backgrounds of the students in the three bilingual classes and how well the teachers coped with the situation and organized the classroom instructions to accommodate their wide range of educational demands.

Within each class, some students were born in this country or came here in early childhood and had received their entire education from U.S. schools. Their dominant language was English. Others were recent immigrants from China and Southeast Asia who could hardly comprehend English. In between were those who had come to the U.S. several years ago and had acquired various levels of English proficiency. The students also differed in their Chinese proficiency. Some immigrants had used Chinese as their only language until their recent arrival in the U.S. Some had no contact with the Chinese language except when in bilingual classes, while some had attended the Chinese language school for two hours a day since kindergarten. In addition, many of the recent immigrants spoke different Chinese dialects, though most acquired functional levels of Cantonese within three months, as discussed in Chapter VIII.

Because participation in the bilingual classes is voluntary, the students who enrolled in the two classes also had different motivations than did the bilingual education program and teachers. Some chose the program in order to learn Chinese, some so that they could learn through bilingual instruction the subject contents — which is increasingly important at the upper grade levels — and some chose the class because their parents could communicate with the teachers.

Conducting any type of meaningful educational program for this diverse group of students, and meeting their different expectations, is a true challenge for any educational practitioner. Two of the teachers, the sixth- and fifth-grade teachers, demonstrated how they organized their classes and instructions, especially through grouping, to cope with the demands of all the students. They utilized their aides and the school's ESL program to meet the wide range of English proficiencies of the students. The two teachers also collaborated and integrated their classes so that the four adults could share the instruction of the four groups for the Chinese lesson. In doing all this, the two teachers retained all the essential features of the Chinese bilingual education program while serving both of its target groups.

The second-grade teacher had also divided her class into groups to facilitate the instruction of the students with their diverse levels of English proficiency. However, this teacher had shifted her instruction focus totally to English development and, from our observation, her classroom instruction was no different than the other nonbilingual classes at King School. Her treatment of the NEP students was also different. They were segregated as a group from the rest of the class during the school day and throughout the whole school year. They were taught mainly by the instructional aide, who had neither the educational background nor the English proficiency to qualify for a California teacher's credential. All in all, the students who had enrolled in this class to develop their Chinese did not receive any Chinese instruction, and the immigrant NEP students who had enrolled in the class to benefit from bilingual instruction did not receive a meaningful education.

The difference in how the second-grade bilingual teacher and the fifth- and sixth-grade bilingual teachers organized their instruction demonstrates the problems created by the lack of a master plan for bilingual education to guide the teachers and by the lack of leadership in the bilingual education program at King School.

CHAPTER VIII

LANGUAGE USE AT KING SCHOOL AND DIALECT CHOICE OF BILINGUAL PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section examines some of the operations of King School that relate to the linguistic needs of the students and of the community it serves and examines the patterns of communication among the community, the students, and the school. This is followed by a brief discussion of the attitudes of the teachers toward teaching and using the Chinese language in King School. The second section examines the rationale of adopting Cantonese as the language of instruction in the King School bilingual program and its effects on the non-Cantonese speaking students.

GENERAL LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN THE SCHOOL

The School and the Parents

Most of the Chinese children in King School are from households where the language used is mainly Chinese; many of their parents do not speak English. Accordingly, the school attempts to provide Chinese-English bilingual personnel to help the non-English speaking parents. At the beginning of the semester, when many parents come to enroll their children or to obtain information, three supposedly bilingual staffers were on hand to assist those who could not speak English: the secretary of the school, the curriculum director, and the community liaison person. All three were U.S.-born Chinese and not native speakers of Chinese (Cantonese). They lacked the native fluency and key vocabulary to explain residence and medical requirements to parents many of whom not only do not speak English but who are totally foreign to the American environment.

For example, in the short amount of time the research team happened to have spent in the front office, miscommunication between Chinese-speaking parents and the secretary and community liaison person was observed on two different occasions. In the first incident, the secretary could not explain in Chinese to the parents that a tuberculosis test was required for all new students. The second, lengthier, encounter can be recounted from the researcher's field notes:

> When the researcher stepped into the main office on the morning of November 6, a father was trying to enroll his two children at King. They had arrived from Hong Kong about a week ago. They were accompanied by a very old woman in her seventies whom I assumed to be the grandmother of the children. The family went from Canton to Hong Kong about two years ago. The father was employed as a truck driver in China and Hong Kong. At the time of the incident he was unemployed.
>
> The community liaison person was trying to explain to the father in Cantonese that the children needed to have all

of the required immunizations before they could be admitted. After trying in vain for some time, she solicited help from the researcher. The researcher spent the next half hour explaining to the father the District requirements for admission. He also conveyed to the parent extra information from the community liaison person concerning places where they can get their immunization and health checkup, the procedures involved, and the fees. At the end, the old woman and the father thanked the researcher warmly for his help. They said that being new here they are very unaccustomed to the strange ways of doing things. Without someone who could explain to them the details of the workings they would have been lost.

These incidents illustrate that a communication problem existed between the school and a majority of the population it serves. Not only did the school's supposedly linguistically competent staff fail to deal with non-English speakers, they also failed to understand the cultural differences between the immigrants' and American medical customs and procedures. The idea of establishing a file at the County office was new to the recent immigrants from Asia; the number of shots and immunizations required — five altogether — together with their cost was staggering to them. Understandably, the school cannot circumvent the requirements set by the school district. It can, however, provide written information in Chinese about procedures or have available someone more competent in the language to help ease the shocks and reduce the unknowns. The fact that the school tried to provide bilingual personnel indicates that it was aware of the need for such staff — but the ensuing miscommunications show that the effort made to meet the need was not adequate.

Another example of the consequences of having personnel with insufficient language skills came in meetings of the School Advisory Council (SAC). This group was established to allow parents to communicate with the school — but at King School this goal was debilitated by the failure to provide adequate translation services. At one SAC meeting, attended by approximately forty people, many of the Chinese parents could not comprehend fully the English used. This oversight became apparent when the agenda, written entirely in English, was passed out to the parents. Since there was no one there from the school who could translate for the parents, the researcher was pressed into service to act as an interpretor for the evening. Of the thirty parents present, at least twenty needed Chinese translation. The researcher had to answer many questions raised in Chinese by the parents as well as interpret the words of the school principal and other staffers.

The school also attempted to accommodate parents by translating notices into Chinese and Vietnamese. While some were bothered by the poor style and the grammatical errors, most parents felt the notices were helpful. One parent, a Chinese monolingual, found the bilingual notices from King School a true relief, in comparison to the lack of such services at the all-English junior high school that her other child was attending.

Most of the parents of the students at King School with whom we conversed said that it was more convenient for them when the teacher was able to speak Chinese. Some of the non-Chinese speaking teachers were sensitive to this drawback and tried to communicate with the non-English speaking parents through whatever translation help they could find in order to explain to the parents the educational progress of their children. However, this feeling and awareness was not shared by all the teachers in the school, as can be seen from the incident described below.

In a Back to School Night meeting attended by the researcher, three of the four teachers of a particular grade level decided to hold a joint informational session for the parents. One of the three was a Chinese teacher in the bilingual program while the other two were non-Chinese. Approximately fifty parents, a majority of them Chinese, crowded into a classroom. One of the non-Chinese teachers started detailing, in English, the new Pupil Progress Report that was being put into use. During the twenty minutes this particular teacher took to explain the information, many of the Chinese parents started murmuring to one another, some stared blankly, and one of the Chinese aides was giving a running translation in a very soft voice to a few of the parents around her. Despite all these obvious signs of incomprehension, this teacher made no attempt to bridge the language gap. The last speaker was also a non-Chinese teacher, but proved herself more sensitive to the language needs of the parents. After she had finished explaining to the parents in very slow, clear English about the school's policy on student absences and disciplinary matters, she asked the bilingual teacher to give a Chinese translation of her talk to the parents. The bilingual teacher included extra information in her translation to help parents less accustomed to the American education system to understand the rationale behind some of the policies.

The parents' reaction to the communication problems are less easy to gauge. However, the following example indicates that the teachers' Chinese-speaking ability may affect the parents' participation in school-related events. In one open-house day at King School, parents of approximately ten students showed up to confer with the teachers in each of the bilingual rooms. Visitors were seen in these rooms up to the very late hours. On the other hand, only a handful of parents were seen in the rooms of the non-Chinese teachers — because they had trouble communicating with these teachers. Parents who visited the bilingual rooms were able to talk at length to the teachers about their children's problems and about educational issues in general.

The School and the Students

Chinese students made up 60 percent of the student population at King School; the remaining 40 percent were Cambodians, Vietnamese, whites, Chicanos, and blacks. Many of the Chinese students came from families that had immigrated to the U.S. recently, or are themselves immigrants. The student population thus presents a rich linguistic spectrum. Even though many of the students may speak languages other than English at home, the policy in the school, particularly outside

classroom instructions, was to discourage the use of any language other than English..

Upon arrival at the school in the morning, students who were in the breakfast program received their breakfast from an ethnically mixed school staff. The principal was usually there to insure that the operation was carried out smoothly. While the mess-hall procedure followed a general routine, occasional instructions from the kitchen staff to the children, as well as conversation among the staff themselves, were entirely in English. The janitor, a white male in his forties, usually came around to hurry the children up with their breakfast. Barking English good-naturedly in a rough voice, he would urge the students to finish up because the mess room has to be prepared after breakfast for certain school activities, such as psycho-motor and band practice. The principal would often go from table to table talking to the students. He knew most of the students by their names and would stop occasionally to converse with some in English.

After classes began, students who needed to see the principal would have to talk to him in English. Apparently the principal, who claimed to know both Zhongshan and standard Cantonese, did not use Chinese at all in his interactions with the students. The principal firmly believed that the students, regardless of their linguistic background and length of stay in the U.S., should practice English so that they would have enough proficiency to deal with their academic work in junior high when they graduated from King. When an ethnically Chinese Vietnamese child and a black child who had been fighting were brought to the principal, he was observed to question both of them in English about the circumstances that led up to the incident. The Cantonese-speaking Vietnamese boy could not articulate well in English. Finally a friend of the boy broke in and told the principal what had happened. Throughout the entire year of observation, during which we had many occasions to monitor directly interactions between the principal and the students, not once did he use any Chinese. However, on a few occasions he did code-switch into Cantonese when talking to the researcher.

Nor is it the practice of other school personnel to talk to the chidren or one another in any language but English — with the exception of the bilingual teachers. On the playground, the teachers typically talk to the children in English. Occasionally, the bilingual teachers talk in Chinese to children they have taught — only, however, if the children's English is quite poor. This is also the case with the school personnel who work in the front office: the secretary, nurse, curriculum director, etc. While the secretary and the nurse both speak Chinese, they prefer to talk with students in English only. Chinese is used only if communication in English is not possible.

Despite the large number of teachers who can speak Chinese, the language for communication for all of the teachers in the faculty room is English. Chinese can be heard on rare occasions, when two or three of the teachers from the bilingual program join others to eat their lunch in the faculty room. Even then Chinese is used only among the bilingual teachers.

Students' participation in extracurricular activities appeared to demand knowledge of English as well. The two most common activities, the traffic corps and the band, were both taught by white teachers who spoke no Chinese. The only students in traffic and music from the three bilingual classes that we observed were those considered by the teachers to be proficient English speakers. None of the NEP or LEP children from the three classes participated in any of these activities. Of course, participation in the band required the renting or buying of an instrument, an expense that the parents of some of the newly arrived LEP and NEP immigrant students might not be able to afford. On the other hand, the traffic corps needed no equipment and involved no extra cost, and was a popular option as the corps had won statewide awards for five continuous years. Yet, despite all of its attractions, none of the LEP or NEP children joined it — most likely because their English skills were inadequate.

Other school functions involving the students were also conducted in English. The award-granting ceremony held in the auditorium/mess hall at year's end provides a good example of such occasions. Students from all the classrooms were crowded into the auditorium to receive and to watch others receive these various awards and scholarships, given for academic excellence and advancement and to those who had assisted the school in different ways. The principal and other staff hosted the program. Two monolingual English-speaking guests who had donated money for the scholarships and awards were present as well. Both while these guests remained and after they left, the entire program was conducted in English. Even the names of some of the children, given and family names included, were pronounced in the anglicized, "English" way. Many names, especially those written in the Vietnamese spelling system, were mispronounced so that some students did not recognize their own names when they were called. By and large, however, the ritualistic format and simple language used in these kinds of activities produced little misunderstanding among the students.

All in all, language use in King School did not differ much from that in other schools. While private conversations among students were often in Chinese or Vietnamese, the official language — i.e., that used in dealings with school personnel and in formal school activities — was English. It appeared from our observations that this is actually the policy, if perhaps an unspoken one, of the school, part of the effort by most of the school personnel not involved in the bilingual program to mainstream all the children linguistically — even though many of the parents sent their children to King so they could maintain their home language.

DIALECT CHOICE OF THE BILINGUAL PROGRAM

Bilingual educational programs are sometimes criticized for not taking dialect differences into consideration when choosing the (non-English) language of instruction. In some communities where mutually unintelligible dialects are spoken, the dialect chosen for instruction might not be intelligible for all the students in the bilingual program, and the practice challenges one of the fundamental assumptions of bilingual education: that children learn best in their native language.

When the bilingual program began at King School in 1971, Cantonese was automatically adopted as the non-English language of instruction. Interviews with the original staff of the program indicated that there was no debate about the choice of the dialect among the parents or the instructional staff. The automatic adoption of Cantonese was probably due to two reasons. First, as discussed in Chapter V, the Chinese community in Cherrywood had, by the early seventies, come to accept Cantonese as the lingua franca of all Chinese speakers. Parents who were non-Cantonese speakers wanted their children to learn Cantonese. Second, the immigrant students served by King School were mainly from Hong kong and were all Cantonese speakers. Cantonese was a logical choice for the non-English instructional language.

However, the student population at King School has changed significantly since 1978. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and China and the admittance of Indo-Chinese refugees brought into Cherrywood and King School a large number of Chinese students who spoke dialects other than Cantonese. This section examines, from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, if Cantonese is still the appropriate language choice for the bilingual program at King School.

Language Experience

Past language experience can affect the knowledge one has of other languages or dialects. This point can be best illustrated by the information we collected from children in the three bilingual classes at King School. These students can be categorized into the following six groups, according to their place of birth and original point of emigration.

Place of Birth	Number of Students
a) United States	29
b) Hong Kong	25
c) China	26
d) Vietnam	5
e) Burma	4
f) Elsewhere	1
	90 Total

Most American-born Chinese children have been in contact with Cantonese from very early on, regardless of the language spoken at home — which, for a majority, was Cantonese anyway. They are also proficient English speakers. The children from Hong Kong are native speakers of Cantonese. Many of those who came at an early age are also English proficient. But what of the remaining three groups of students who originally came from China, Vietnam, and Burma? (The one "Elsewhere," a student from France, is rather atypical and will therefore be ignored.)

The students from China can be divided into two major groups: those from Zhongshan and those from Siyi. For the Zhongshan-speaking students, the use of Cantonese poses no problem; in general, all Zhongshan speakers can understand Cantonese with no difficulty, even without extensive exposure to it.

The students who came from the Siyi area all reported that they could not speak or understand Cantonese before leaving their native villages. However, during their passage from Siyi to the U.S., they all spent some time — the average was nine months — waiting in Hong Kong for an immigration visa to the U.S. The shortest waiting period was two months. This time proved crucial to their acquisition of Cantonese; most claimed to have learned it there. Cantonese is spoken by an estimated 95% of the residents of the colony. It is used in every form of verbal communication. (English, the official language, plays a minor role in everyday communication for the majority of residents, although politically it is far more influential.) After Hong Kong, most of these students arrived in the U.S. with a fairly good knowledge of Cantonese. Our experience with these children in the bilingual programs indicates that, even if Siyi-speaking children cannot express themselves in Cantonese as fluently as native speakers, their passive knowledge (comprehension) of the language allows them in most cases to follow Cantonese instructions and explanations with ease. The typical child encounters no problem at all.

The dialect backgrounds of the Chinese in Vietnam are more diverse, with a high number of Zhaozhou, Hakka, and Min dialect speakers on top of the usual large number of Yue dialect speakers one finds in Southeast Asia. However, the relatively small number of Vietnamese Chinese students enrolled in the Chinese-English bilingual program all reported that they had learned Cantonese when they were in Vietnam. The scanty information gathered about language use among the Chinese in Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) before the forced exodus of ethnic Chinese from Vietnam reveals that, as in the Chinese communities in the U.S., Cantonese is the most frequently used Chinese dialect among the Chinese in Vietnam.

Cantonese as Dialect of Instruction

All the social factors — Cantonese's high social prestige vs. the "hillbilly" status of other dialects, its widespread usage in the community, its symbolic value, and its general acceptance by Siyi speakers — weigh in favor of choosing Cantonese as the dialect of instruction in Chinese-English bilingual programs. In addition to the sociolinguistic factors, the personal experiences of most of the children who were not native speakers of Cantonese ensured that, by the time they arrived in the U.S., they had already acquired a good amount of Cantonese. It appears, then, that the selection of Cantonese over other dialects is still a logical choice for the bilingual program and certainly would not create any major linguistic barrier for most students.

Exceptions

Still, there are students who had not been exposed to Cantonese prior to their arrival in the U.S. — for example, the Burmese Chinese students. What happens when the language of instruction is different from, though related to, that native to the students? The case of Sally, one of the Burmese Chinese students in the three classes that we observed, provides some clues.

Sally arrived in the United States from Burma in May 1980. For unknown reasons, she entered King School and was assigned to the fifth-grade bilingual class three weeks after school started. Since she spoke only Taishan and Burmese at that time and was unfamiliar with her school environment, she kept very much to herself. Instructions given in either Cantonese or English were incomprehensible to her. On a few occasions, we observed that the teacher had to give an individual explanation in Taishan in order for her to understand what the group was doing. Because she was the only girl in the non-English-speaking group at that time, and because of her inability to express herself in either English or Cantonese, the boys in the group constantly made fun of her. All she could do in response was give them angry looks. However, this situation did not last long. By the end of November, Sally was a fully participating member in the class. She volunteered frequently to answer math questions. These questions usually required short answers of one or two words or numbers which she could say equally well in English or Cantonese. In addition, she was no longer the helpless girl everyone picked on. She was observed to answer loudly in Cantonese when the boys picked on her. In addition, she started talking to other children in Cantonese. It was obvious that, although her Cantonese still had a heavy Taishan accent, she could understand the language very well and was able to use it with a certain degree of effectiveness.

It was also obvious that it was her knowledge of Cantonese more than her knowledge of English that enabled her to follow the more difficult instructions in the lessons which are taught largely bilingually for the benefit of students like Sally. An incident that occurred in a math lesson with a substitute teacher, a non-Cantonese-speaking white male, demonstrates this unambiguously. After spending quite some time explaining some rather complicated instructions on the worksheets to the whole class, the substitute teacher turned to the researcher for help. The LEP children were showing signs of frustration because they did not understand the instructions. The researcher gathered together all these children, including Sally, and explained the instructions in Cantonese. The children then said they understood and went back to their seats. Later on, when the researcher asked Sally in Cantonese about the worksheets she responded by showing the researcher the math problems she had correctly completed.

The case of Sally demonstrates that a native speaker of a Chinese dialect can acquire another dialect of Chinese much more quickly than she can acquire English. This phenomenon is partly due to the generally positive attitude people have toward Cantonese, to its widespread use, and to the linguistic similarities between different Chinese dialects. These factors were further reinforced in Sally's case by her living in Little Canton, her enrolling in a school where ethnic Chinese children make up more than half (59%) of the total enrollment, her family's close interaction with the Chinese community (her mother works in a local sewing factory), and her ethnic identity. All these motivational and situational factors foster a very favorable environment for students like her to learn Cantonese.

In fact, these factors operate so strongly in favor of Cantonese that some non-Cantonese-speaking students who were not enrolled in bilingual classes managed to learn the dialect. An example is a child from Shanghai, China, who was transferred to a nonbilingual English class after two weeks in a Chinese (Cantonese) bilingual class. At that time he spoke only Mandarin and the Shanghai dialect, which are both different from Cantonese. Approximately four months after his transfer, the child was observed conversing with other children in Cantonese.

One main factor which allows a speaker of one Chinese dialect to acquire another is, as indicated in Appendix A, the structural similarity and the almost one-to-one correspondence in the grammatical structures and lexicons among the Chinese dialects. Essentially one merely needs to adopt the phonological system and certain lexical items of another dialect to understand it and be understood.

For example, the phonological systems of Siyi and Standard Cantonese, the level of language on which the two dialects vary the most, correspond to each other in a systematic way: Siyi tone 55 in non-stopped syllables corresponds to tone 35 in Standard Cantonese, Siyi 42 to Standard Cantonese 22, and Siyi 31 to Standard Cantonese 13; Siyi 33 corresponds to Standard Cantonese 55 or 33. Similarly, both dialects employ tone change as a morphological process. Even though it may be very difficult to internalize these correspondences, successful communication of referential meanings does not require total mastery of the sound system. Indeed many adult Siyi speakers fail to acquire Standard Cantonese phonology in its entirety, yet they manage to communicate effectively through heavily accented Standard Cantonese. More importantly, the similarities of the grammatical structures and the lexicons among the dialects further limit the number of changes a speaker of one dialect needs to make in order to communicate in another dialect. For example, the basic word order is the same in all the dialects studied. Even the more drastic permutations of sentential elements, such as the BA construction of the more distant Beijing dialect, have their counterparts in (the Jeung constructions of) Standard Cantonese. The similarities of the dialects no doubt enhance communication, despite heavily accented speech. The speaker and listener can both use their broad knowledge of the language to aid the communication process.

However, when a Chinese speaker tries to acquire English, the picture is completely different. One not only has to master the entirely unrelated and different linguistic system, but also to assimilate the different cultural values and communicative conventions that govern the effective use of the language. While Standard Cantonese and English are both unintelligible to a speaker of Siyi, the latter is very much more unintelligible than the former. One cannot assume that children can learn English as easily as they can Cantonese. Therefore, the relative ease of their transition to Standard Cantonese suggests that children who speak other dialects would still benefit from a bilingual program in which Cantonese is the non-English language of instruction.

In conclusion, given the language situation in the community, the prevailing community attitudes toward various Chinese dialects, and the personal language experience of most of the students we studied, we

may conclude that the use of Cantonese in the bilingual program was the appropriate choice. Even students who did not speak Cantonese at the time they enrolled in the school seemed to acquire it more quickly than English. Their skills in Cantonese not only helped them to meet the daily challenges they encountered in the classrooms, but also facilitated their acceptance into the local community.

CHAPTER IX

LANGUAGE USE IN BILINGUAL CLASSROOMS

INTRODUCTION

Code-switching in conversations among bilinguals is a natural phenomenon. It may be triggered by a lack of specific words, or by difficulties encountered with certain grammatical constructions — but many bilinguals also use it as a form of socio-stylistic variation in their speech. As Zantella (1981) has pointed out, code-switching is not always the result of a lack of linguistic knowledge, nor is it an ad-hoc mixture. Fluent code-switching by bilinguals is governed by stringent grammatical constraints. Studies in Chicano communities have demonstrated how sociolinguistic motives may induce speakers to switch between English and Spanish: (1) to express their meaning in immediate terms; (2) because the experience or the item referred to is typical of the other language and culture; (3) to establish the social identity of the referent or speaker; (4) to embellish a point; and (5) to ensure confidentiality or privateness (Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez, 1975). It has also been suggested that some of these rules are not only shared among people of the same community but may be shared by all bilingual switchers (Gumperz, 1976).

Examples of code-switching between Chinese (Standard Cantonese) and English utterances that fit the above descriptions have been observed in the Cherrywood Chinese community. An example for (1) might be: "He took his mother heui sihk chaan" (to dinner). The speaker used what came to mind first. An example for (2) in Chinese could be something like: "Let's have dinner at Daaihfouh" (San Francisco). In many instances, one switches from English to Chinese when addressing a fellow Chinese who also speaks the language, a practice which illustrates (3). An example for (4) is when one repeats the phrase "tough kids" in Chinese in the sentence: "You know those tough kids down the street corner, go di kwaaihjai a, ..." Here one is emphasizing that the kids are really tough and making sure that the listener understands which kids are being referred to. Example (5) can be seen in the switching from English to a softer volume in Chinese when mentioning someone's personal characteristics. For instance, when some Chinese speakers wanted to talk about a non-Chinese, plump young man sitting near them, they mentioned his physical characteristics in Chinese while the rest of the sentence was in English: "See that feihjai sitting near the entrance?" By switching to another code, the speaker prevented the non-Chinese from understanding what was said.

Both students and instructors in the bilingual class practiced code-switching. Bilingual instructors frequently code-switch to ensure that the students adequately comprehend the subject matter. In many of

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* All Chinese examples in this paper are Standard Cantonese, romanized according to the Yale romanization system. Tone marks are ignored except when noted.

the maintenance type of bilingual instructional programs, the "success" of the instructional model is believed to be based on a "balanced" use of the two languages. In this chapter we describe in detail the language use in the fifth- and sixth-grade bilingual classrooms, both by the teachers and the students. We also analyze the language use during the "pullout" ESL lesson which was an integral part of the bilingual program and attended by the NEP students from the bilingual classes. The goal of this chapter is to identify (1) the code-switching patterns instructors employ to achieve language-related long-term and short-term instructional goals; (2) the overt and covert objectives of the bilingual program as exhibited in the code-use patterns of the instructors; (3) the students' use of language in the classrooms as affected by the teachers; and (4) the area of conflict between goals and methods that affects the outcome of the program.

Speech data for this study were obtained during the second semester of the 1980-81 school year. Tape recordings of two mathematics and two social science lessons from each of the fifth- and sixth-grade bilingual classrooms were collected. These lessons were felt to be typical of other bilingual lessons and classrooms (except the second-grade class, see chapter VII), based on the research team's long-term observation at King School. Five hour-long audio recordings and transcripts of ESL classes were also collected from January 21 to March 4, 1981. Notes collected during observation of the lessons furnished additional information. The basic educational beliefs of the instructors as well as the outcomes they expected from the students were revealed through interviews and informal discussions during the school year 1980-1981.

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF CODE-SWITCHING

Before embarking on the analysis of the data, a brief discussion of some linguistic terminology and how it is used in this chapter is in order.

A person code-switches when he or she changes from one language to another. If the change occurs within a sentence, it is known as intrasentential code-switching as in:

1. Ngohdeih gamyaht jouh <u>decimal points</u>.
   we today do
   (We are doing decimal points today.)

(In all of the examples, the English gloss, when included, is located directly under the Standard Cantonese Chinese. English translations are given within the parentheses.) On the other hand, if the switch from one language to another occurs at the sentence boundary, it is called intersentential code-switching.

2. One-tenth is not the same as one ten.
   Jingsou jikhaih mouh siusoudim mouh fahnsou
   whole number is no decimal point no fraction
   (Whole number is the same as having no decimal points or no fraction.)

In the first type of switching — intrasentential switching — words, phrases, or entire embedded clauses may be switched. The

following pair of examples illustrate intrasentential switching of a word and a verb phrase.

3. Sinsaang, Sinsaang dim jouh addition a?
   teacher teacher how do question particle.
   (Teacher, teacher, how to do addition?)
4. Sinsaang, sai mh sai copy place value of four a?
   teacher need no need Q-pt.
   (Teacher, is it necessary to copy place value of four?)

However, not all instances of using words from another language are considered code-switching. In general, names and quotations in language A embedded in a sentence uttered in language B are not considered code-switchings. Code-switching in languages A and B typically contain the following features:

a. The item switched from language A to language B does not contain grammatical properties that result from the influence of language A.
b. The words of language B are not pronounced according to the phonological system of language A.

Examples 5 and 6 below contain terms borrowed from English that are not considered code-switched items.

5. Ni leuhng go lamba haih jingsou.
   This two class. number is whole number
   (These two numbers are whole numbers.)
6. Keiuh feih-jo-lou.
   (He failed.)

In example 5, "number," pronounced as /lāmba/, is considered a loan word. Morphologically, like all nouns in Cantonese, it is preceded by the classifier "go." Phonologically, the initial alveolar nasal "n" is changed to "l" and the final "r" is dropped; both of these operations conform to the sound patterns of Cantonese. The term has also acquired certain distinct suprasegmental tonal features. The loan version of the disyllabic word "number" is always pronounced with the high-level tone in the first syllable and the high-rising in the second.

In example 6, /feihlou/, which derives from the English word "fail," again exhibits the phonological characteristics of Cantonese. Furthermore, the disyllabic word now becomes trisyllabic. with the perfective marker "jo" of Cantonese inserted in the middle. Having been assimilated into the linguistic system of Cantonese, neither of these "English" words is an example of code-switching.

LANGUAGE USE OF THE FIFTH-GRADE BILINGUAL TEACHER

Mrs. Lee, the fifth-grade bilingual teacher, exhibited a very structured and regular code-switching style. No intrasentential code-switching was found in her speech except the use of English place names and nouns. Examples of the first usage are:

1. cheuihjo Minnesota jingoih ne, Michigan ne haih jeui do.
   besides Minnesota aside pt. Michigan pt. is most many
   (Besides Minnesota, Michigan has the most.)
2. Houchi ngohdeih ne, hai Bay Area gam.
   Like we pt. in Bay Area alike
   (Like we are in the Bay Area.)

However, as was shown earlier, switching of place names is not considered true code-switching. Switching of nouns was limited to the occasional replacing of a Chinese word with its English counterpart. For example:

3. Mhhaih jihnghaih California sin yauh cherry.
   Neg is only California first has cherry
   (Cherries are not exclusive to California.)
4. Wisconsin ni go deihfong ne, haih chuehn gwok ne chetchaan
   Wisconsin this class. place pt. is whole country pt. produce
   jeui do ngaauhnaaih, ngaauhyauh produce tunhngmaaih cheese
   quantity milk butter and
   ge hah.
   emp. pt.
   (Of all the places in the country, Wisconsin produces the most milk, butter, and cheese.)

The reverse usage, substituting a Chinese for an English word in an English sentence, was not found.

Mrs. Lee confirmed later, in a casual conversation, that she avoided intrasentential code-switching deliberately. She felt that switching back and forth was not good for the children. In fact, it was observed that she told one child not to speak half a sentence in Chinese and half in English.

When she was lecturing the entire class, Mrs. Lee code-switched infrequently (at a relatively low rate). She generally lectured for a considerable period in one language before she switched into the other. These code-switches from English to Chinese were usually carried out after a significantly long pause and/or were signaled by a conversational-opening marker, along with a detectable change in volume and intonation. The following code-switch occurred after Mrs. Lee had lectured for a while on the importance of lining up decimal points in the same column.

5. If you don't write them neatly, well, you'll have all kinds of different numbers here and there. That is why it is important that you have to line them up very carefully, one on top of the other, column by column. Na, jouh siu souh ne ... (Now, as for decimals ...)

At the point of switch, the discourse marker na, which sometimes acts as an attention marker, was inserted. The topic marker ne that follows was uttered with a rising intonation along with an increase in the volume of speech. These discourse strategies clearly marked the transition from English into Chinese. In fact, the highly regular occurrence of na in Instructor A's speech signaled that she used it (in addition to its other discourse functions) as a code-switch marker. After Mrs. Lee switched from English into Chinese, she usually continued to lecture in Chinese for an extended period.

Her switches from Chinese into English, as well as her other switching — the embedding of a short English sentence in a lecture conducted in Chinese — were not as well-marked. Only a limited number of cases were recorded where direct code-switching from Chinese into English occurred with no previous interruptions or change of activities. In these few cases, no significant long pauses nor markers

equivalent to the sort mentioned in the previous paragraph were found. For example, the instructor embedded an English sentence in a section of a lecture delivered in Chinese to the class after they had seen a National Geographic filmstrip about the Great Lakes.

6. ...godi wuh ne, godi wuh seui ne, dou gitsaai bing lok.
...those lake pt. those lake water pt. all freeze ice pt.
The lake freeze in the winter-time. Haih la, ni tiuh kiuh ne,
Yes pt. this class. bridge pt.
jauhhaih jeung ni leuhng go bouhfahn ...
is execu. marker this two class. parts....
(The lakes, the water in the lakes all freeze. The lakes freeze in the winter time. Yes, this bridge helps to [connect] the two parts...)

Mrs. Lee seemed always to lecture first in English, and then to repeat the same content in a Chinese lecture. In essence, the Chinese lectures were translations of the English ones. The following transcript, taken from Mrs. Lee's math lesson, illustrates these principles of sequence and translation.

7. T : "... The reason why I say this is easy is, when you have to add decimal numbers, it just works out just the same as you add whole numbers, but the very one thing that you have to remember; what is the most important thing you have to remember when you are adding decimals?"
C : : : : : : :
T : "Yes, you have to line the decimal points up neatly, correctly and when you work your answers, your answer must have a decimal point; if you see a decimal point in the addends, the numbers that you are to add. That is why, when you look at the example they gave you on page 258 — do you see page 258? There are six columns in the yellow rectangle on top of the page. Do you see that number one, they say 2.3 plus 4.5? The boy named Marty; what did he give as an answer for that?"
Michelle : "He didn't put the decimal."
T : "Yes, he said 'sixty-eight.' Is that the same as sixty-eight when you put 2.3 and 4.5 together?"
Cs : "No."
T : "2.3 and 4.5. It is right that you will get six and eight by adding three and five first. However, if you have forgotten to put the decimal point, then your problem is wrong. Totally wrong. That is why it is very important to remind yourself you have to have the decimal point in your answer."
"Nah, gai sou ne, siu sou ne ge gaa gam faat ne, tuhng jing sou gaa gam faat yat yeuhng ge. Mhhaih hou naahn ga. Soyih, hohk yuhn houdo naahn ge yeh ne, yihga ngohdeih jouhfaan jeuntau ne, nidi haih juhngyi ge yeh. Daahnhaih yauh yat yeung ganyiu ge ne, jauh haih faahn haih neih yauh dihngdim wai ga, neih yiu deui dou keuih chai jing waihji. Mhhou deui mejo woh. Jouh jouh hah, yauh di yahn deui mejo ge ne, gam neih go tiuh sou jauh mhngaam ge laak. Juhngyiu ne, neih go daap ngon mouh lauhjo go dihngdim wai. Yat lauhjo go dihngdim wai ne, go

tiuh souh sehng tiuh sou cho ge woh. Houchi jingwah ne, neih tai gogo chihn yat baan, keuih deui gei go laih neih teng, tai go go yahn jouh sou ne yih dim saam gaa sei dim ngh. Keuih dak dou luhk sahp baat. Ngaam mhngaam a? Mhngaam a. Luhk jauh haih luhk, baat jauh haih baat. Daahnhaih ne, luhk jing dim baat, mhhaih luhk sahp baat. Soyih ne, jouh ni yeung yeh seut ne, jauh yat dihng yiu hou siusum : : dim yeung heui jouh."
("Now, in math, adding whole numbers and decimals is the same. It's not very hard. That's why, after you learned a lot of hard things, now we are turning around and these are very easy things. But there is one very important thing; and that is, when you have decimal numbers, you have to line them up carefully. Don't line them up crooked. In doing this, some people line them up crooked, then your problem is wrong. Also, your answer should not leave out the decimal point. Once you leave out the decimal point, your problem — the whole thing is wrong. It's just like at first, you saw the first section, they gave you some examples. You see that person do the problem of 2.3 plus 4.5. He got 68 as his answer. Is that right? It's wrong. Six is six, eight is eight. But, 6.8 is not 68. That's why, when you do this kind of math, you must be very careful :: how to do it.")

If the English and Chinese versions of the lecture are broken down into points of information, we can see that they both contain essentially the same points, albeit in slightly different order.

English	Chinese
1. easy	1. decimal number same as whole number
2. same as whole numbers	2. easy
3. one difference	3. line up numbers
- question to student	4 must have decimal point
4. line up numbers	5. example in book
5. must have decimal point	6. compare 68 with 6.8
6. example in book	7. repeat importance of decimal point
- question to student	
7. compare 68 with 6.8	
- question to student	
8. repeat importance of decimal point	

Although the content of the two versions outlined above was very similar, there were noticeable differences in the instructor's delivery. She delivered the English version at a much slower pace, accompanied by constant questions to ensure that the students were following her. The Chinese version was delivered much more quickly, uninterrupted by questions to students. This selective translation method used by Mrs. Lee was aimed at the students who were not as proficient in English. We observed that she usually directed her Chinese remarks at these students only, a practice which affected student behavior.

Despite the regularity of her code-switching pattern, Mrs. Lee did not, however, always translate everything into Chinese. In two of the mathematics lessons selected for analysis, many of the simpler concepts

were explained in English alone, with no subsequent Chinese translations. She typically questioned the students in English. Even students who were considered to be NEP were asked questions in English. In fact, Mrs. Lee was making use of some portions of the math lesson as an opportunity for doing some English instruction for the students who needed it most. It was noted on two occasions outside of the taped sessions that all of the NEP and LEP students were called on to answer simple mathematical questions in English while many students who were proficient in English were not. The correctness of the answer in such instances was judged according to the form as well as the content. For instance, Rachel was asked to give the answer to a multiplication problem. Although she gave the answer correctly in Chinese, Mrs. Lee responded: "Rachel, you can say that in English." The second time around, Rachel's correct answer in English was approved by Mrs. Lee, who responded with praise by saying "good."

The transcript of the mathematics lecture reveals that Mrs. Lee used English far more frequently than Chinese. In another recorded mathematics lesson, English was used for approximately 80 percent of the instructor's lecture. The nature of the contents of the mathematics lessons, which was comparatively independent of language, probably contributed to the infrequent use of Chinese for explanation.

Chinese was used more frequently during the two social studies lessons recorded. The social studies classes involved lengthy lectures that made extensive use of a rather technical vocabulary. Some of the content of the lessons was also culturally alien to the more recent arrivals. Such conditions increased the need for switching into Chinese. In one of these lessons, an English filmstrip of the Great Lakes area was shown. Mrs. Lee stopped the filmstrip and the accompanying audio tapes from time to time to give a Chinese translation of the information. In this lesson, the amount of English and Chinese used was nearly equivalent, even including the English used by the narrator of the film. Nevertheless, Chinese was never used more than English in any of the lessons recorded. The following table summarizes the time given to English and Chinese during the four recorded lessons.

	Lesson		Time(min.)		% of Chinese	% of English
M	Social Studies	1	23		47.8	52.2
R		2	13		46.2	53.8
S	TOTAL		36	average	47.2%	52.8%
L	Mathematics	1	32		18.7	81.3
E		2	20		30.0	70.0
E	TOTAL		52	average	23.1%	76.9%

Examination of the functional allocation of the two languages reveals that Mrs. Lee typically used English in directives. Directives, as defined by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), are utterances that request nonlinguistic responses. For instance, children in the class were typically told in English:

"Put the books away and listen to what I'm talking about," or
"Don't turn the page over until I've told you to."

Rarely were these directives uttered first in or translated into Chinese. The difference in Mrs. Lee's language use indicates that English and Chinese did not command equal importance in her classroom. Chinese was used only as a supplementary explanatory tool. The fact that most of the directives were uttered in English also reveals that language's official status. As was pointed out by Milk,

> directives seem to be closely linked to behavior that revolves around basic issues of power and authority in the classroom. ... when the prestige and authority of the teacher is at stake, the language that is really important will be used. Consistently using English for most directives ... may carry with it the message that English possesses the dominant status ..." (1981, pp. 21-22).

One consequence of Mrs. Lee's style of switching was that her students frequently "tuned out" when she lectured in a language other then the one they had chosen to listen to. Because the majority of the class was proficient in English and English was always used first in the lecture, the noise level rose significantly during her lecture in Chinese, which covered the same content. This "tuning out" is further demonstrated by the fact that, in the four lessons recorded, only once did a student proficient in English ask a question during Mrs. Lee's lecture in Chinese.

LANGUAGE USE OF THE SIXTH-GRADE BILINGUAL TEACHER

The sixth-grade bilingual teacher, Mr. Siu, lectured in a style different from Mrs. Lee's. He did not always translate the English lectures into Chinese. Instead, he tended to lecture in either Chinese or English, code-switching much more frequently and rapidly into the other language as he worked through the lesson. For this reason, we could find more intra- and inter-sentential switchings of noun phrases and names in the speech of Mr. Siu. His intrasentential switching mostly involved short noun phrases or names. For example:

1. Ni go poutung ge chyuchuk keuih bei neih ng go
   the class. common poss. saving it give you five class.
   percent ja wo
   percent only
   (The usual type of savings accounts pays only five percent interest.)
2. Okay, whole number, jingsou, this is a, a whole number.
   Is this a whole number?

In example 1, the English word "percent" was embedded in a Chinese sentence. In 2, a Chinese translation of an English word was inserted in the sentence. The use of "percent" in example 1 was for expediency — since in Chinese this phrase involves embedding the number in a more complicated construction — but the use of "jingsou" in example 2 was more deliberate. The switching, in this case a translation of an English mathematical term, was probably meant to serve as an emphasis for those who were bilingual and as a translation for those who were not familiar with the English term.

On some occasions, it was observed that Mr. Siu also switched from one language to another halfway through a sentence. Switchings of this type cannot be attributed to any factor but the instructor's style. In any event, it occurs relatively infrequently. The following example comes from a stretch of speech marked by frequent code-switching at sentence boundaries:

3. "Neih deih yuhng luhkbak man daan jingfu
(You use six hundred dollars, but the government)
wuih bei faan fifty-five percent of the money you have spent.
(will give back)

There were no clearly predictable patterns indicating when Mr. Siu would switch from one language to another. He did not, as mentioned earlier, always give direct translations or repeat his lectures in another language. The following excerpt from a lecture on solar energy, which took place during a mathematics lesson, illustrates the point.

4. ... that will pump the warm water to the boiler. OK. Usually say the water from the tap — OK from the faucet — supposed is around 50 degrees OK.
Fifty degrees Fahrenheit.
But the sun, because of the energy, it will warm it up to maybe you could to to — I would say so, to 80 degrees Fahrenheit. So the sun would do part of the warming. You understand why? The sun would do part of the warming from 50 degrees to 80 degrees Fahrenheit. And the warm water ...
godi yiht seui ne jauh-wuih yauh go bump -
(Then the water will have a pump —)
yat yiht go jahn sih ne, go go pump keuih wuih yuk ge.
(The moment it gets hot, the pump will start operating.)
Yiht douh gam seuhng ha go bump wuih jih dung yuk ge.
(When it heats to a certain temperature, the pump will go automatically.)
Jeung go di nyun ge seui ne, gam chi nyun ge seui bump
(It will get the water, this time the warm water, pump to)
heui go louh go douh.
(the water heater.)
Di seui yiging nyun nyun dei lak. Juhng sai mh sai yuhng
(The water is already a little warm. Will it require that
gam do fo heui siu nyun, siu douh keuih gou yiht houi chung
(much heat to heat it up, heat it up till it's warm enough for
leuhng wahkje saeiye. Sai mh sai yuhng gam dou energy a?
(showers or for washing, will it need as much energy?)
mh sai la. Gam neih ma han jo la. Go taai yeuhng ne jauh
(Of course not. Then you have already saved. As for the sun)
wihng yuhn mh hoyi ne jeung go di seui saai dou yiht douh ne
(it will never be able to heat the water up to — wow! It)
— wa! mo lohk heui laaht sou ge. Mh wuih ge. But it
(burns your hand if you stick it into the hot water. No it)
could be pretty warm. Neih mhseun neih hoyi si hah.
(won't.) (If you don't believe, you can try it.)
Neih lo go bolei jeung, joi di seui, baai hai taaiyeuhng saai

(Take a glass bottle, put in some water, put it under the)
gei go jungtou. Neih joih faan heui mo hah heui, neih wuih
(sun for a few hours. Go back and touch it. You will)
faatgok di seui hou nyun ge. Batji yu laat. Daan haih hou
(discover the water is quite warm. Not enough to burn)
nyun ge.
(your hand, but quite warm.)
So this is solar heating. It helps. OK? But it cannot, right now it cannot replace, it cannot totally cut off the cost of your PG&E bill. It can't do that yet, but it helps. Solar energy, OK? How many of you have solar energy equipment at home?

C : Expensive

C : : : :

T : Well, more and more people are putting in solar energy equipment. OK? And it's good because if you buy equipment, solar energy equipment, a lot of people are doing that because the government is paying you to do it. Suppose you spent six hundred dollars ..
neih yiu luhk baak man maai go di yeh faan laih ngon seuhng
(you need to spend six hundred dollars to buy the equipment)
heui jinghou. Peiyu neih yuhng luhk baak man
(to install the stuff. Suppose you use six hundred dollars)
The government will give you back — well we have another problem — OK? Fifty-five percent of the money that you spent on it, OK? All right? Can you tell me what is the real cost?
Neihdeih yuhng luhk baak man, daahn jihngfu bei faan
(You spent six hundred dollars, but the government refunds)
forty-five percent of the money you have spent neih.
(to you)
Jihngfu wuih tuhng neih cheut ng sahp ng go percent ge.
(The government will pay fifty-five percent.)
Neih jihgei haih cheut gei do chin?
(You yourself have to pay how much?)
Can you tell me?

If the points of information contained in the above excerpt are broken down, the structure of the lecture is as follows. C (Chinese) or E (English) indicates the language in which the information was conveyed.

1. E Sun warms water to about 80°F
2. C Increased water temperature activates pump
3. C Water pumped to boiler
4. C Water already hot, therefore less energy needed to heat up
5. C Sun's energy not strong enough to heat water until it will burn hand
6. E However heater is quite warm
7. C Experiment with glass bottle
8. C Water quite warm, but won't burn hand
9. E Solar energy cannot replace conventional heating source
10. E Solar energy popular because of government rebate
11. E Spend $600

12. C Spend $600 for equipment
13. E Actual cost after government rebate of 55%
14. C Spend $600 and government repays 55%, actual cost

An examination of the content reveals that little of the information is repeated in the lecture. Between points 1 and 10, only point 8 repeated in Chinese a point made earlier in English (point 6). Points 11 to 14 were actually questions posed to the class. The instructor repeated himself once, in point 12, as he was formulating the question. Point 14 was the question presented completely in Chinese after he had finally phrased the question in a clearly understandable "problem format." It functions both as an emphasis and a translation. There was no fixed order in which he used English and Chinese. Sometimes English was used to emphasize a point made earlier in Chinese, and vice versa. Thus, Mr. Siu switched codes to elaborate upon a point as well as to translate for those who might have trouble comprehending the English.

The passage above also illustrates the rapidity and frequency of Mr. Siu's code-switching. During this short lecture, Mr. Siu switched languages a total of eight times. In general Mr. Siu used more English than Chinese. As did Mrs. Lee, he also used more Chinese in the social studies lessons than in the mathematics lessons. In one of the math lessons recorded, he used Chinese in one instance only, albeit a relatively lengthy one — to reprimand three boys, two of whom were NEP students. The remainder of the lesson was given entirely in English. Again, the predominant use of English during mathematics lessons and the increased code-switches to Chinese during the social studies lessons indicates that Chinese was used largely as a supplementary, explanatory tool. The following table summarizes the amount of Chinese and English used by Mr. Siu during the lessons.

	Lesson		Time(min.)		% of Chinese	% of English
M	Social Studies	1	38		39.5	65.5
R		2	20		10.0	90.0
	TOTAL		58	average	29.3%	70.7%
S						
I	Mathematics	1	30		10.0	90.0
U		2	19		15.8	84.2
	TOTAL		49	average	12.2%	87.8%

Mr. Siu's rapid switching from one language to another and his selective translating method appeared to have had a positive effect on classroom management. This code-switching style required the students to attend to both his English and Chinese lectures because he did not repeat the same information in the two languages.

LANGUAGE USE OF THE ESL TEACHER

The instructor of the ESL class, Mrs. Chu, gave highly structured lessons in English grammar. Although she was bilingual in Chinese and English, in all of the tapes analyzed she spoke only in

English during class: for instructions, for giving directions, and for reprimands. So, for one hour every day the students were immersed in an all-English classroom environment. Mrs. Chu expressed, in interviews, the belief that students learn English faster if spoken to only in that language.

The ESL classes generally had the following structure: After opening remarks (greetings, housekeeping), Mrs. Chu had the students exchange their homework assignments from the night before. They corrected the papers as a class, taking turns reading the answers. The papers were returned to their owners and the students were given a few minutes to make corrections before handing them in to the teacher. Next Mrs. Chu conducted a lesson from their textbook, generally a grammar lesson, during which the students were again required to take turns (generally in predetermined order) doing the exercises in the book. The last portion of the hour was devoted to reading and discussing a story, working alone on exercises, or listening to a tape and doing the corresponding exercises.

Instead of code-switching between Chinese and English, Mrs. Chu used several ESL strategies to teach the NEP students. To ensure comprehension she would give definitions in English, reword questions and statements, or use visual aids. For example, after a discussion of the word "jelly," the teacher summarized by giving the definition: "It's sweet and you put it on bread" (1/21, p.24). Discussing the word "believe," she gave examples using paraphrases: "She believes in peace and love. She thinks this is a good thing and she believes in it" (2/4, p.14). She reworded a question about the definition of a globe: "No, this map is not like a, this map is not like a what? Picture. It's not like a picture, is it? That's a map [pointing to a map on the wall]. A globe is what? A model" (2/4, p.8).

The last example also illustrates another strategy used frequently by Mrs. Chu to elicit responses from the students. She tended to use a lot of "what" or "fill-in-the-blank" questions. Some examples are:

1. (The teacher and students are discussing a picture of some children looking at a globe.)
   T: The earth that (pause) what? What do you see? (pause) Is a what, Manney? Is a globe. (2/4, p.8)
2. T: Okay. It's sweet and you put it on bread. And it's usually made from what?
   C: Fruit juice.
   T: Do you know what it is? (1/21, p.24)
3. T: There were no seats. The train was what? What is the word I'm looking for?
   C: : : : small.
   T: The train was very what?
   C: The door is too small.
   T: Yes. There were too many people standing around. OK. We say that that's what? Crowded.
   Cs: Crowded. (2/11, p.10)

To solicit more complex answers, Mrs. Chu would ask questions on stories that she had just read to the class. The questions asked "why,"

"how" or "what did X do." For example, she asked questions about a story the students had read about Mahatma Gandhi.

4. T: ... When he had to go from one place to another place, how did he get there?
   Tony: He hurried to the station and he took the train to the big city. (2/11, p.8)
5. T: ...How do you think he went from place to place, Richard?
   Richard: He did by train.
   T: He would go by train. (2/11, p.9)
6. T: ...Why didn't he have a car?
   C: Because he's too old. (2/11. p.9)

STUDENTS' USE OF LANGUAGE IN THE BILINGUAL CLASSROOMS

Children in the fifth- and sixth-grade bilingual classes used both English and Chinese to respond to the teachers' elicitations or to initiate interaction. The students usually answered the former in the same language the teacher had used; follow-up by the teacher was also usually in the same language. The following two examples (Chinese glosses are given in single quotes) illustrate this type of exchange:

1. T: ...What is your answer over there?
   C: Three point eight.
   T. It's not point eight. It's eight point.... (2/16, p. 21)
2. T: (Chinese): 'Do you raise chickens here? How many?'
   C: (Chinese): 'One, a big one.'
   T: (Chinese): 'One, a big one.' Then I don't think that you'll have baby chickens because you have only one... (2/26, p.26)

Student-initiated talk was common in the bilingual classrooms. Students often asked for clarification of instructions but also had questions and comments about the subject matter being studied. Such talk could, again, be in either English or Chinese, and the teacher generally responded in the same language as that used by the student. Several examples follow.

3. Lily: Miss Hsi, can we write in zeroes?
   T: No, I want every number in words... (2/11, p.5)
4. Michelle: He didn't put the decimal.
   T: Yes, he said 'sixty-eight.' ... (2/11, p.8)
5. Kent: (Chinese): 'Write it in English, right?'
   T: (Chinese): 'You have to write out the English word.' (2/11, p.2)
6. Jimmy: (Chinese): 'I don't know which decimal point.'
   T: (Chinese): 'You don't know which decimal point?' (2/11, p.6)
7. C: (Chinese): 'Don't eat the hen by mistake.'
   T: (Chinese): 'If you eat the hen, you won't even have eggs.'
   C: (Chinese): 'I have two hens.'
   T: All right, okay. Number five... (2/26, p.26)

The examples show that choice of language was quite free in the bilingual classrooms. Instances in which a teacher ignored an answer in Chinese and switched to English, as in (7), were rare. By responding directly to the substance of the student's message, the teacher implicitly accepted as proper the medium of the message, i.e., the choice of language.

During the English reading lesson, however, the bilingual teachers often encouraged the students to use English. For instance, one of the teachers said to a student during the reading lesson: "I don't want you to use Chinese now, use your English" when the student answered a question posed by the teacher. Even this English-only rule was never enforced strictly during the reading lesson. The teacher often asked students to translate words into Chinese and used Chinese to explain concepts to ensure that the students comprehended the lessons fully. For example, in a lesson on mammals, a student suggested the word "dolphins" and the teacher asked for a translation:

8. C: Whale, dolphins.
   T: What did you say? Did you say dolphins? Yeah, dolphins, dolphins. 'What is it in Chinese?'
   C: Uh, 'hoituhn' (dolphin).
   T: 'hoituhn, hoituhn,' OK, dolphins.... (4/27, p.4)

THE STUDENTS' USE OF LANGUAGE IN THE ESL CLASS

The majority of student talk during the ESL class was task-related and in English. Students used Chinese primarily in private talk among themselves during breaks in the lesson (e.g., while passing in papers, passing out books, etc.) and occasionally during the lesson itself to address the teacher. This latter, public, talk can be divided into teacher-elicited and student-initiated talk.

Teacher elicitations asking for the meaning of a word often triggered a translation or paraphrase in Chinese. Some examples are:

1. T: Who knows what wine is?
   C: (Chinese):'Wine.' (1/21, p.24)
2. T: Believes. What does that mean?
   C: (Chinese): 'To believe.' (2/4, p.14)
3. T: Who knows what I mean when I say the past tense? Kent?
   Kent: (Chinese): 'Happened in the past.' (2/4, p.6)
4. T: ...and what does "rich" mean, Tony?
   Tony: (Chinese): 'Enough money.' (1/21, p.17)

Since translation was common in the bilingual classrooms and the bilingual teachers asked for translations to check comprehension, it is likely that, even if the ESL students were aware that they were supposed to speak only English in the ESL class, their automatic response to meaning questions was to translate into Chinese. The ESL teacher seemed to anticipate this problem by restating meaning questions as "fill-in-the-blank" questions. For example,

5. T: ...Has anybody heard the word geography? Geography? What does that mean? Studying about what? (2/4, p.8)

Students would also respond to the teacher in Chinese when she asked a question requiring an abstract or complex answer. For example, in a lesson, a student replied to the teacher's question, "Why didn't he have a car?":

6. C: (Chinese): : : 'No cars.' (2/11, p.9)

In addition to answering Mrs. Chu in Chinese, the students sometimes initiated conversations with her in Chinese. These consisted mostly of students' comments and questions about correcting and handing in assignments, finishing tasks, doing things the right way, etc. For example:

7. Hung: (Chinese): 'I've done it.' (1/21, p.3)
8. C: (Chinese): 'Teacher, I don't have an OK.' (1/21, p.4)
9. Jimmy (Chinese): 'Miss Yee, can I turn these in to you now?' (3/4, p.8)

We can hypothesize that the students used Chinese in such cases because they were accustomed to the patterns of language use in the bilingual classrooms. The students also frequently used Chinese to point out mistakes made by the teacher or others. For example:

10. C: Gandhi. (Chinese): 'You are wrong.' (The teacher had spelled "Gandhi" incorrectly on the board.) (2/11, p.12)
11. T: ...The book did not have the 's' on the sentence there.
    Jimmy: (Chinese): 'Then he is wrong.' (1/21, pp.3-4)

Thus the students sometimes used Chinese in the ESL classroom, even though the teacher never did. While they were often capable of using English, certain kinds of situations seemed to trigger use of Chinese, at least for some students. Their choice of language can be seen as similar to that in the bilingual classrooms.

The ESL teacher responded to student use of Chinese in a variety of ways, ranging from no response to an explicit or indirect request for the student to say the same thing in English. Examples of the latter are:

12. T: What is jelly?
    Richard: (Chinese): 'Those you spread on bread, very sweet.'
    T: (lowers voice) Uh, tell me in English, Richard. (1/21, p.24)
13. T: ....What do these foods taste like?
    C: (Chinese): 'Sweet?'
    T: How do you say that?
    C: Sweet. (1/21, p. 24)
14. T: So how is this one different from this one?
    C: Change - -
    Jimmy: Eh, (Chinese): 'Different sound.'
    T: (lowers voice) Can you tell me in English what that is? (3/4, p.11)

Sometimes, the teacher would respond to the student's Chinese comments or questions, but always in English and frequently with lowered volume. For example:

15. Hung: (Showing teacher his completed assignment) (Chinese): 'I've done it.'

T: Check it. (pause) Exercise 6 on page 68. . . (1/21, p.3)

16. T: ...And what does "poor" mean? Richard?
Richard: It has no money.
T: O.K. --
Harry: No, not no money, no money.
Cindy: (Chinese): 'Very poor, very poor.'
Harry: (Chinese): 'It's not having no money' : :
C: Have money too.
T: All right, has a little money, a little money. Not no money. (1/21, p.18)

17. Jimmy: (Chinese): 'What if there is nothing there?'
T: (lowers voice to a monotone) Well, just leave it. (1/21, p.13)

Sometimes the teacher ignored the student's utterance in Chinese, responding to an answer in English or redirecting the same question to another student. Two examples follow:

18. T: All right, and what does "rich" mean, Tony?
Tony: (Chinese): 'Enough money.'
C: Has many, many, many--
T: Do you say "many, many, many"? You say you have lots of money, or has much money... (1/21, pp.17-18)

19. C: The BART (Chinese): 'doesn't use electricity but uses steam.'
T: Kent.
Kent: They don't know what BART is.
T: That's right, exactly... (2/4, p.11)

In the following example, the teacher displayed a variety of responses to Chinese during a discussion of the meaning of wine. She did not respond to a direct translation but acknowledged another statement in Chinese comparing wine to soda pop. She prompted the students further and filled in the answer herself: "It has alcohol in it." When she got another translation into Chinese she ignored the answer and began a new exchange with another student.

20. T: OK., what about wine, Hung? Do you know what wine is? (pause) Who knows what wine is?
C: (Chinese): 'Wine.'
C: (Chinese): 'It's like soda pop.'
T: Well, it's a little more than that. It has what --?
C: (Chinese): 'Soda pop, orange drink.'
T: It has alcohol in it. It is what?
C: (Chinese): 'Wine.'
(Several seconds of commotion)
T: All right, Hung, did you read yet? (1/21, pp.24-25)

In the above exchange, it can be seen that the student or students involved understood the concept of wine, yet the teacher insisted on defining it using the concept of alcohol. The students were probably not familiar with the word or the concept of alcohol and continued to give her a Chinese translation of the English word "wine." Since she didn't want to encourage the use of Chinese, she did not praise or elaborate on the answer. She choose to change the topic.

In summary, the ESL teacher only infrequently acknowledged the content of student talk in Chinese. Since response to such talk was always in English, an English-only rule was implicitly established. Other teacher behavior — such as changing of voice tone, redirecting questions, and acknowledging English but not Chinese answers — served to reinforce the English-only rule and to focus evaluation on the form of the students' utterances.

CONCLUSION

The two bilingual teachers used both Chinese and English for lecturing, asking questions, evaluating, reprimanding, and so on. Concepts were explained in both English and Chinese — sometimes alternately, sometimes through literal or approximate translation. The teachers wanted to make sure the students understood the content of the lesson. One teacher stated he code-switched to ensure that those who did not understand English would comprehend the lesson. From the analysis of the instructors' code-switching and code-use patterns, it is apparent that Chinese was used only as a supplementary tool to aid in instruction. The instructors' language-use practices indicate that their most important goal (and the program's) is to help the NEP and LEP students learn English. In the words of Mr. Siu, the primary goal of the classes is "to bring up the English standard of the newcomers." The rationale for this aim was the instructors' belief that there was a lack of continuity in the bilingual program at the junior high level. Mrs. Lee commented that the push in English was necessary "to help [the children] to acquire enough English so they can survive in case when they go up to junior high or leave this school district, they can still be able to function in a regular classroom." To achieve this goal, both teachers had tried to provide more opportunity for the use of English in the class. In fact, Mrs. Lee had adopted the practice of treating the English-proficient students, who made up the majority of the class, "like they are in a regular class." Mr. Siu, on the other hand, either intentionally or unintentionally, integrated Chinese into his lessons — although he stated that he preferred to switch into Chinese only when it was necessary. This emphasis on English development had, however, cut short another objective of the bilingual program — the development of the students' home language.

The emphasis on English development probably arose in response to (1) the constant challenge of the administrators and nonbilingual teachers to show that the bilingual program was "working," as measured by the year-end standardized English achievement tests, and (2) to the pressure to turn the maintenance program into a transitional program to serve only the immigrant students. Accordingly, through continual concessions, the two instructors had adopted the course of teaching as much English as possible to all the students in the class. The students' achievement in Chinese, on the other hand, was never considered an important factor, even though it was the desire of virtually all the parents interviewed that their children learn Chinese.

The ESL lessons conducted by Mrs. Chu were, probably by their nature, highly structured, consisting of grammatical exercises, oral reading, and listening comprehension. Teacher elicitations requiring

complex answers were rare; rather, the teacher tended to use "what" and "fill-in-the-blank" questions. The teacher used English exclusively and often ignored talk in Chinese. Strong emphasis was placed on the formal correctness of the language. It appears that these features of the ESL classes actually inhibited student talk. The learning environment of the ESL classes was also highly artificial, and differed from the regular classroom setting. Thus, the English acquired under such circumstances might not sound natural in a normal classroom situation.

It appears that the students are indeed learning English in the ESL classroom. But they would benefit still further from, among other approaches, a broader conceptualization of language learning that combined acquisition of formal characteristics of language with the development of concepts and of spontaneous, meaningful speech. Such an approach would encourage the students to use more English more naturally. Since the ESL teacher, Mrs. Chu, is bilingual, this goal could easily be accomplished by the following two changes: (1) rather than going to great lengths to avoid translation, the ESL teacher could accept translation to verify comprehension and spend more time on questions requiring complex answers; and (2) instead of ignoring responses in Chinese, she could first acknowledge the response and then model the equivalent in English or ask the student if he or she knows how to say the same thing in English.

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CHAPTER X

STUDENT OUTCOMES

In this chapter, we presents a discussion of the student outcome from participation in the Chinese bilingual education program at King School. It must be pointed out that this is not an evaluation study to compare the effectiveness of bilingual education with other pedagogical approaches. Instead, what will be discussed are crude indicators which relate to the successfulness of a school program. Data collected are mostly qualitative; they derive from interviews, observations, and existing school records.

In general, the King School teachers whom we interviewed volunteered numerous opinions about the effectiveness of the bilingual program and the student outcomes. However, the ten years of resentment and controversy (described in Chapter VI) over the school's bilingual program have left many teachers with biased or unsubstantiated opinions. Usually, the researchers would crosscheck a given teacher's report of a student outcome with teachers from the other faction or with observations and school records. Only reports that were supported by several sources of information will be discussed below.

ENGLISH AND MATHEMATICS ACIEVEMENTS — CTBS SCORES

While various King School teachers made many claims about the merits and shortcomings of the bilingual program, there was one source of data that they always referred to — the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) scores. The Cherrywood School District, as required by California state legislation, administered the CTBS test battery to all students at the end of the school year. These scores provided a concrete measure of the general English and mathematics achievement of the students in the bilingual program. In fact, the CTBS scores had been a focus of contention among the King School staff; every year they would spend several meetings just discussing these scores. Since a school's overall CTBS scores indicated that school's academic standing within the district, King School's staff -- proud of the school's long history of academic achievement -- were always concerned that their scores should not decline. This concern and competitiveness among the Cherrywood schools had intensified recently, with the general shift towards emphasizing basic skills and with the district feeling pressure to raise its test scores (which are among the lowest in the state). Moreover, the rivalry between the bilingual and nonbilingual teachers at King had generated open competition over their students' achievement on the CTBS. The nonbilingual teachers wanted the scores to show that the bilingual program was failing, and the bilingual teachers were anxious to demonstrate that their students learned as much as other students.

Table I summarizes the performances by classes at King School (excluding the combined-grade classes) on the CTBS administered in May 1981.

TABLE 1
Average CTBS Scores by Classes (May 1981)*

	Reading score (%ile)	Language score (%ile)	Math score (%ile)
Kindergarten			
Bilingual Class	35.76 (73)	--	19.66 (72)
Class A	34.00 (50)	--	17.05 (50)
Class B	35.19 (56)	--	16.00 (43)
First Grade			
Bilingual Class	69.00 (63)	22.70 (30)	44.64 (78)
Class A	49.90 (36)	18.50 (17)	42.70 (75)
Class B	38.80 (21)	14.48 (6)	37.05 (63)
Second Grade			
Bilingual Class	53.29 (42)	52.97 (40)	45.47 (78)
Class A	48.19 (38)	56.19 (45)	42.96 (71)
Class B	53.38 (42)	55.14 (43)	38.23 (56)
Third Grade			
Bilingual Class	63.86 (71)	77.48 (73)	85.67 (77)
Class A	50.04 (52)	66.56 (53)	70.81 (55)
Class B	27.45 (18)	44.25 (19)	66.25 (49)
Fourth Grade			
Bilingual Class	48.07 (29)	64.11 (34)	80.69 (42)
Class A	61.76 (46)	73.48 (50)	85.69 (57)
Class B	68.57 (57)	78.37 (60)	85.53 (57)
Fifth Grade			
Bilingual Class	42.16 (34)	72.50 (47)	76.53 (71)
Class A	41.32 (32)	74.93 (52)	76.71 (71)
Class B	41.55 (32)	69.00 (41)	74.41 (67)
Sixth Grade			
Bilingual Class	45.23 (30)	69.07 (33)	78.93 (59)
Class A	55.19 (42)	73.19 (40)	80.00 (62)
Class B	49.90 (36)	66.20 (30)	69.33 (44)

* Scores of combined-grade classes are not included.

Table 1 shows that, except for the fourth-grade bilingual class, the bilingual classes performed at about the same level as the non-bilingual classes. However, these average scores should be interpreted carefully. Examination of the individual student scores in each class revealed that the distribution is generally bimodal, with the LEP students grouping at the lower end of the scale and the other students at the upper end. An exceptionally low average score generally means that there was a large number of LEP students in a particular class, and, contrarily, a high average score means that there were few such students in the class. Thus, no conclusion can be drawn about the comparative effectiveness of the bilingual program from these CTBS scores. Nevertheless, the CTBS testing was considered such an important indicator that all the bilingual teachers at King School mentioned the pressure they felt to teach with the test in mind.

The principal and the curriculum teacher both indicated in their interviews that, over the years, there was no difference between the bilingual and the nonbilingual classes' CTBS scores. The curriculum teacher thought that, if the LEP students were excluded, the students from the bilingual program were probably better achievers than those from the nonbilingual classes — probably because the fluent English-speaking students in the bilingual classes were from more affluent families. However, no data were available to substantiate this observation.

STUDENT PERCEPTION OF BILINGUAL CLASSES

All the students in three bilingual classes (the second, fifth, and sixth grades) were interviewed about their attitudes toward their classes. Two of the questions asked were: (1) Do you want to stay in the bilingual program next year? and (2) Do you want a teacher who can speak both Chinese and English? Table 2 shows these students' responses.

TABLE 2

Question 1: Do you want to stay in the bilingual program next year?

	Yes	No	Don't know	OK	No response
Second Grade	26	4	--	--	--
Fifth Grade	25	3	4	--	--
Sixth Grade	20	6	3	--	2

Question 2: Do you want a teacher who can speak both Chinese and English?

	Yes	No	Don't know	OK	No response
Second Grade	24	4	1	--	1
Fifth Grade	30	--	--	2	--
Sixth Grade	26	1	3	--	1

The large number of affirmative responses to these two questions indicates that the students enjoyed the bilingual classes and were not there just because their parents sent them. The students mentioned the following reasons for wanting to be in the bilingual classes:

- To learn both Chinese and English.
- To do more Chinese work.
- It is fun to be able to speak both Chinese and English in a class.
- To have a bilingual teacher.
- To be with old friends.
- To learn more things.
- To learn to speak Chinese.
- To learn bad words in Chinese and English.
- To learn more Chinese words and English words.
- To learn more English.
- To be able to read Chinese story books.
- To learn more Chinese so won't fall behind in the Chinese school.

Of the thirteen students who said that they preferred to go to a nonbilingual class the next year, two indicated that they were moving out of the district next year, one said that her best friend was in a nonbilingual class, two said that their parents wanted them to transfer to a nonbilingual class, and the sixth-graders said that they did not want to go to bilingual classes in junior high. No one indicated that they wanted to leave the bilingual classes because they did not like the instruction, the teachers, or the Chinese lessons.

STABILITY OF THE BILINGUAL PROGRAM

The first-grade bilingual teacher had just been transferred into that position at the start of the school year, after having taught at King School for many years. During the interview, she mentioned that the bilingual class was the most stable class she had had at King School — there was not a single student who had asked to be transferred to another class during the school year. The principal and curriculum teacher confirmed that the bilingual classes had a low transfer rate. This stability may indicate the degree of satisfaction with the bilingual program that its students and their parents felt.

CLASSROOM PARTICIPATION

In Chapter VII, we described how the LEP students participated in the fifth- and sixth-grade bilingual classroom instruction, and how they were turned off during the science lesson when instruction was delivered by a teacher who spoke only English. In general, except when their class was divided into groups for language instruction, the LEP students in the bilingual classes were able to participate with the rest of the class in classroom activities and teacher-student interactions. (The second-grade bilingual classroom was an exception. As was described, there was no bilingual instruction in the class, and the NEP students were deliberately segregated from the rest of the class so that they would not interfere with the teacher's instruction of the other students.)

The study did not observe the nonbilingual classes. However, information on how LEP students participated in these classes was collected from teacher interviews. In general, teachers of the lower grade levels indicated that they were able to involve these students by simplifying their English and by relying on their aide and, often, on peer translation by the fluent English-speaking students. At the higher grade levels, more and more teachers indicated that the LEP students were left completely to the bilingual aides, and were often separated from the rest of the class until they had acquired adequate English through ESL instruction.

ATTITUDE TOWARD CHINESE

The students in the three bilingual classes were interviewed about their attitudes toward learning Chinese. All reported that they wanted to learn Chinese "because they should." On being asked why they should, they responded with one or more of the following answers:

(1) so they could talk to more people

(2) because they are Chinese
(3) because their parents wanted them to
(4) so they could learn other subjects better

The last answer was unexpected and especially interesting. It indicates that the students wanted to learn Chinese as a stepping stone toward better understanding of their class materials. This response matches a finding of this study, discussed in Chapter VIII, that the non-Cantonese speaking Chinese immigrant students could benefit from the Cantonese/English bilingual program because they could acquire the Cantonese dialect very quickly and could thus participate in the bilingual instruction within a few months.

ACHIEVEMENT IN CHINESE

Since one main objective of the bilingual program at King School is to develop the students' proficiency in Chinese, and since many parents enrolled their children in the bilingual classes solely for that purpose, it is appropriate to examine how well the program has accomplished this objective. However, data on the students' achievement in Chinese language are sparse. The students did receive grades at the end of each semester for the Chinese class. However, these grades were subjectively assigned by the teachers and provided no useful information for this study. The only other evidence about the effect of the bilingual program on the students' Chinese language development (or maintenance) is the observation, confirmed by all the teachers interviewed, that students from bilingual classes used more Chinese in the playground.

Unsatisfied with these results, the researchers found eight graduates of the King School bilingual program who were by then enrolled in scondary grade-level schools in Cherrywood, and proceeded to study their language use patterns through interviews and observation. When interviewed, most of them denied that they knew any Chinese. However the researchers were able to observe them all displaying a high level of oral Chinese proficiency. One seventh-grader, when asked if she spoke Chinese at home, replied: "I don't speak Chinese and I hate Chinese." The truth, though, was that her parents had come over from Hong Kong about four years previously and that the child, born in Hong Kong, spoke only Chinese at home. Another, more indirect, denial came in an interview with a child whom the researcher knew spoke Chinese. The researcher asked all the questions in Chinese but the girl answered her in English only. Even after the researcher asked if she spoke Chinese, the child insisted on answering in English. At home this child spoke to her parents in Chinese. The following is a more detailed description of one King School graduate.

Anita. Anita was a ninth-grader. Born of immigrant parents who speak little or no English, she has grown up among Chinese and had attended the bilingual program and after-hour Chinese school when she was at King School. When she was first interviewed, she claimed she spoke no Chinese. However, one time when the researcher and Anita were talking in the hallway of a building, a janitor the researcher knew came by. He stopped to ask the researcher, in Chinese, for some

information about access to the office after work hours. The conversation lasted for about a minute, during which Anita listened with interest. She seemed to have understood the entire conversation, since she did not ask any questions later on. When asked if she had understood what went on, she replied with a nod.

Anita's knowledge of Chinese was gradually revealed to the researcher, who observed her using the language when the situation required. On one occasion, she mentioned that she didn't like and refused to eat vegetables and that her parents did not force them on her. But later she qualified her remark by saying that she ate choi (a green vegetable). It was a fine linguistic distinction that is usually made only by someone who has a good knowledge of Cantonese.

Anita agreed to provide the researcher with some tape recordings of her dinner conversations at home. The conversations recorded revealed that Anita did use Chinese in the privacy of her home with her parents — usually when she requested goods, services, or information from them. That is, she would only use Chinese when it was to her advantage, but at most other times she spoke in English. One instance occurred during the first tape-recorded session. The mother asked about the purpose of the taping. Anita retorted in English that the taping was for a research study. The mother was silenced. The point of this exchange was not the referential meaning, for the mother could not comprehend English at all, but that Anita chose the language that her mother didn't understand to place the burden of comprehension on her. (After hearing this conversation, the researcher visited the mother and explained to her the purpose of the taping.) It was Anita's idea of how to avoid the actual confrontation. She confessed later that it was a technique she used frequently. Whenever her mother asked for an explanation of some kind which Anita did not want to provide, she would answer in English. When asked to say it in Chinese, she would say that she did not know how.

Through the bilingual program, the after-school Chinese program, and/or her parents, Anita had acquired a high level of Chinese proficiency. However, due to social pressures and at least in her teen, she refused to admit that she knew Chinese and would not use the language in public.

CONCLUSION

The many sources of data reviewed in this chapter indicate that King School, in both its bilingual and nonbilingual programs, was successful in educating students to achieve in English and mathematics. However, King School's bilingual program was not all that successful in its objective of developing (or maintaining) the students' proficiency in Chinese. The students currently in the bilingual program said that they wanted to learn Chinese. But the graduates of the program who are now in junior high or high schools, who all showed high levels of proficiency in the Chinese language, nonetheless refuse to use the language and even denied they knew it. Given all the family pressures, the bilingual program, the after-school Chinese program, and the opportunity to use the language in the community, one would imagine

that all of the children growing up in Little Canton would be bilingual. But, alas, the collective efforts of the school, the family, and the community cannot withstand the pressure of the dominant society's attitude toward this ethnic minority language. Once these students reached their teens, left the bilingual program, and entered Cherrywood's larger secondary grade-level schools, most of them chose to reject the language. Though many will probably come to value their home language once they reach adulthood, this period of rejection may well undo most of the Chinese proficiency with which the King School bilingual program and the after-school Chinese program have endowed them.

CHAPTER XI

BILINGUAL EDUCATION AT WILSON SCHOOL?

As described briefly in Chapter Five, bilingual education really did not exist at Wilson School, at least not as a visible and well-established program. If there was no bilingual education, how did Wilson serve its LEP students?

One possible reason for the non-existence of a bilingual education program is that, initially, Wilson did not have a large population of LEP students. When the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act brought large numbers of immigrants into Cherrywood and King School, Wilson was not affected. Victoria Peak, the Chinese residential area served by Wilson School was then mainly occupied by middle-class Chinese who had enjoyed the post Second World War economic mobility. Consequently, Chinese children who attended Wilson school were mostly from second generation families. Few of them were foreign born and LEPs. The immigrants, when first arriving in Cherrywood, tended to live around Little Canton to take advantage of the bilingual services and jobs which did not require English proficiency. Some, when they became more established, moved to Victoria Peak but this was usually after several years and by this time, their children had acquired a certain level of English proficiency.

Nevertheless, there was still a small group of immigrant families who settled in Victoria Peak because of the recommendations of their relatives or other reasons; these families sent their LEP children to Wilson. In 1972, Wilson was assigned its first ESL teacher to serve these students. This teacher split her time evenly among three schools in the vicinity. From then on, ESL became the main thrust in Wilson School's service to the LEP children. In 1975, because of the rising LEP student population in the area, the ESL teacher was assigned to teach half-time at Wilson and half-time at another school. In 1980, this ESL teacher left for a higher post at a junior high school. Her position was taken over by another ESL teacher who remained at Wilson up to the study's data collection. Both ESL teachers occupied very important and visible roles at Wilson, and received high praise for their work from Wilson School's principals and the other school staff.

Though there was no bilingual program during the school year, a Chinese bilingual summer school was implemented at Wilson for the summers of 1976 and 1977. The program was organized by the district Office of Bilingual Education, and all students in the school district were encouraged to enroll. Wilson was chosen as the site because of the large number of Chinese residents near the school and the desire of the Wilson School PTA for such a program. These "bilingual" Chinese summer schools were essentially cultural enrichment programs. The summer school was so popular and successful that the staff had to turn away students the second year. The summer school program was discontinued after two years when the passage of Proposition 13 in California severely reduced Cherrywood's revenue.

It was the hope of the district OBE that the success of the bilingual summer programs would motivate the parents and staff of Wilson School to implement a bilingual program during the academic year. But such was not the case. Mr. Alioto, the principal of Wilson from 1970 to 1981, was a foe of bilingual education. He was a staunch supporter of ESL based on his personal and professional experiences. He was from a Italian-speaking family and spoke no English before he started school. He was forever grateful for his kindergarten teacher's intensive English lessons for him and a small group of LEP children. He had also successfully implemented an ESL program at a largely Hispanic school where he had been principal before he came to Wilson.

Though the number of ethnic Chinese students at Wilson school gradually decreased after 1970, the number of Chinese LEP students actually increased. The increase was especially apparent after 1978 when real estate value of neighboring cities escalated drastically, forcing many Chinese to move to Victoria Peak where housing was comparatively affordable. In 1981, Wilson School had 76 LEP students as determined by the district's testing program. When interviewed, the teaching staff of Wilson School all commented on the significant increase of Chinese immigrant students over the last two years.

In 1981, Wilson was assigned a new principal, Ms. Tong, an American-born Chinese who also was a LEP child when she first started school. Ms. Tong was sensitive to the increasing number of LEP students at Wilson and very sympathetic to bilingual education. When interviewed, she expressed the need for bilingual instruction and indicated that she and her staff were designing a long term plan to provide service to the increasing number of LEP students. In this regard, she was receptive to working with the district OBE and parents.

The researcher interviewed the ESL teacher, a bilingual instructional aide, and seven homeroom teachers -- one from each grade from kindergarten through sixth. Of these, three homeroom teachers and the ESL teachers were American born Chinese, and the bilingual instructional aide was an immigrant from Hong Kong. When compared to the non-bilingual teaching staff of King School, these teachers were far more receptive to bilingual education. In general, their views were very similar to that of the principal. They all saw the need for the immigrant students to acquire English as soon as possible, and acknowledged the difficulties in communicating with NEP students. They stated that Chinese speaking-abilities would help in their classroom instruction. All of them indicated their desire for bilingual aides who could assist them in communicating with the NEP students. Lastly they agreed that it was desirable for the immigrant students to retain their native language and to become bilingual. They valued the richness of the cultural background of the immigrant students, and wanted to change the overall Wilson School curriculum to be more multicultural. The similarity between the principal's and these teachers' views on the education of immigrant students suggested that the topic had been discussed among the school staff and a common consensus on the school's goals and approach had been reached.

The researcher also interviewed twenty-two parents of Chinese students at Wilson School: eight from a fifth-grade class, thirteen from a kindergarten class, and one from a second-grade class. All were immigrants. Ten had resided in the U.S. for more than ten years and the others less than ten years. These parents shared similar educational and language aspirations. All agreed that in America, English was the primary language, and that it should be the first objective of immigrant children to learn English. They also valued the Chinese language and expressed their desire for their children to become bilingual. To this end, they thought Wilson School should offer Chinese language classes for their children. They also agreed that bilingual instruction would allow the immigrant students to participate in the classroom activities and ease their transition into the all English schooling experience. These interview data indicated that bilingual education is desired by the community.

In March 1982, a PTA meeting was held to discuss what type of bilingual programs should be implemented at Wilson. However, the meeting focused on only one aspect of bilingual education -- the teaching of Chinese language at Wilson School. The parents agreed that their children should spend class time on regular school subjects. Chinese instruction, they believed, should be offered after regular school hours. The principal expressed that she would begin planning an afterschool Chinese program and would also work toward providing more bilingual instruction to the LEP students. All indications suggested that bilingual education would be gradually implemented at Wilson School over the next several years.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY

Language Aspirations of the Chinese Community

The members of Cherrywood's Chinese community agreed that English is the language of communication in the wider society and that it should be the priority of every student to master English in order to function competently in U.S. society. The community expressed great concern over this issue because of the large influx of limited-English-proficient immigrant and refugee children it was experiencing.

However, a large group of Chinese also wanted their children to maintain or develop their Chinese proficiency. This desire was especially prevalent among immigrant parents whose first language was Chinese, a group that includes at least half of the present Chinese population in the U.S. and continues to expand due to immigration and resettlement of refugees. These parents, most of them bilingual in English and Chinese themselves, valued bilingualism and considered bilingual ability to be an asset for their children and for society. Some parents who were monolingual Chinese-speakers also wanted their children to maintain their Chinese for a more pragmatic reason — so that the parents and children could communicate.

Commmunity's Attitude Towards Bilingual Education

In addition to accomplishing the educational objectives generally associated with public education, bilingual education had two other special functions, according to members of Cherrywood's Chinese community. It allowed the limited-English-proficiency students to participate in class activities while they were learning English; and it helped maintain or develop the students' Chinese proficiency. The community generally agreed on the first of these functions — that the immigrant and refugee students would benefit from bilingual instruction they could understand. However, the community was divided in its support for the second function and disagreed on whether the development of Chinese should be the role of the public schools or of the after-school Chinese programs.

Nevertheless, among the parents of students in the bilingual program at King School, support for the home language maintenance purpose of bilingual education was very strong. This support was indicated by the high demand for the bilingual classes and by the confrontation that took place between the parents and the school administration when the latter proposed to eliminate the language maintenance component of the bilingual program. The study interviewed a random sample of thirty parents of students enrolled in King School's bilingual program. All responded that one reason they had enrolled their children in the bilingual program was so that they would learn Chinese.

King School

English Language Development. King School as a whole was successful in developing its students' language proficiency. King School's staff concurred with the community in acknowledging the importance of the English language and the priority for the LEP students of acquiring that language. The whole staff emphasized English language development and reading in all classes, bilingual and non-bilingual. The school's CTBS scores in reading and language skills had been maintained at about the national norm for the last five years. This had not been an easy task, considering the continuous influx of limited-English-proficient immigrant and refugee students into the school every year.

Bilingual Instruction. The bilingual program at King School was also able to provide the LEP students with bilingual instruction, and observation indicated that the LEP students were participating fully in classes where bilingual instruction was available. The parents of LEP students indicated that they were pleased with the bilingual classes because they could see that their children could understand the classroom instruction and communicate with the teacher. The parents also said that they could communicate with the bilingual teachers and discuss with them their children's educational progress and problems. The school staff in general agreed that bilingual instruction enabled the LEP students to understand what went on in the classroom. In fact, after Title VII funding ended, the bilingual instruction aides were redistributed from the bilingual program to all the classrooms. Loosely speaking, depending on how the teachers used the aides, some form of bilingual assistance was provided in all the classrooms. Because many of the non-bilingual teachers were also of Chinese ancestry and had some speaking knowledge of Chinese, they would occasionally use whatever Chinese they knew to communicate with the LEP students.

Maintenance and Development of the Home Language. When the bilingual program began in 1971, one of its objectives was to maintain and develop its students' Chinese fluency. To that end, formal Chinese language lessons were part of the program design and had always been taught in the bilingual classes. The frequency of these formal language classes had changed several times in the initial years, but has stabilized at two periods, approximately two hours, of instruction per week. While the program was under Title VII funding, this feature had been closely monitored by the program manager or coordinator. However, when Title VII funding ended, with no district policy to guide or regulate the objectives and design of bilingual programs, the Chinese language lessons became subject to the discretion of the bilingual teachers.

With the yearly influx of LEP immigrant and refugee students into their classes and the pressure to develop these students' English proficiency as fast as possible, the bilingual teachers were constantly tempted to ignore the Chinese language lessons and to spend the class-time on English language development instead. For example, in the second-grade bilingual classroom observed, no Chinese language lessons were taught at all for the first half of the school year. They were taught only occasionally during the second half. When interviewed, the

teacher stated that she could not fit the Chinese lessons into her class schedule. This practice short-changed the group of fluent English-speaking students, whose sole purpose for enrolling in the bilingual classes was to develop their Chinese fluency. However, this second-grade bilingual teacher was atypical. Chinese lessons were observed to be taught regularly in the fifth- and sixth-grade bilingual classes for two periods per week. Interviews with the other bilingual teachers also indicated that Chinese was taught regularly in their classrooms.

Concerning lessons in subjects such as social studies and math, classroom observation data and analysis of tape recordings indicated that the bilingual teachers used Chinese significantly less than English as the language of instruction. When used, Chinese was mainly a supplement for mediating instruction to the LEP students. Since Chinese was affiliated with remedial learning, its value was undercut.

There was no achievement data on the students Chinese language proficiency besides the grades assigned by the teachers on the Chinese lessons. However, observation of several teenagers who were graduates of the King School bilingual program showed that they all processed a high level of proficiency in conversational Chinese. This proficiency, however, is probably not the result of the King School bilingual program alone since the students all attended the afterschool Chinese program and lived in the vicinities of Little Canton where Chinese is widely used.

Dual Purposes of the Bilingual Program. How much to emphasize the English language development of the LEP students had always been a subject of discussion within King School's bilingual program. The problem lay with the dual purposes of the program — to use bilingual instruction to allow the LEP students to participate fully in classroom instruction and to maintain and develop all of its students' Chinese language proficiency. These two purposes attracted two different groups of students into the bilingual classes. The new immigrant and refugee students who spoke little English enrolled in the classes to take advantage of the bilingual instruction, while the fluent English-speaking students enrolled in the same classes to develop their Chinese proficiency.

In a school where the student population is stable, a group of students with initially different levels of proficiency in English and in their home language may enroll in the kindergarten bilingual program; and as they progress through the grade levels, their language proficiency both in English and Chinese would gradually converge. However, the situation at King School does not fit this description. The community and the school received a large number of new immigrant students at different age levels every year, and many of them wanted to enroll in the bilingual program at King School. Instead of increasing the number of bilingual classes to accommodate the new LEP students, the school chose to exit some of the students out of the bilingual program every year to make room for the new LEP students. Thus, at every grade level of the bilingual program, there would be students who spoke little English and students who were fluent in English. At the lower grade levels (e.g., kindergarten and first grade), where the

students with diverse language backgrounds were at their incipient literacy and other cognitive development stages, they might not differ much in their educational needs. However, in the higher grade levels, the students' diverse language proficiencies presented a very difficult situation for the teachers. For example, in the sixth-grade bilingual class observed, the students ranged from new immigrants who spoke no English to a U.S.-born child who scored at the tenth-grade reading level on the CTBS test. With the diverse make-up and educational demands of the students in their classes, the bilingual teachers were often forced to choose their own priorities for the classroom curriculum and instruction. At King School, most of the bilingual teachers chose to emphasize development of English language proficiency for the LEP students in their classes.

Communication between School and Community. There was minimal communication between King School and the community. When the bilingual program was first implemented at the school in 1971, a community liaison person was hired for the purpose of improving the dialogue between the school and its service group. This individual at first took on the job of informing the community about the objectives and design of the bilingual program and of recruiting students. Later on, the nature of the job changed; the community liaison person became more of a translator for the school, translating district and school notices into Chinese and, when the parents came to the school, helping them communicate with the non-Chinese-speaking staff. This function of the community liaison person remains unchanged. Thus, whatever communication took place between the school and the community was always one-sided, with the school informing the parents about school events and requirements. The school staff never made any effort to discover the parents' educational aspirations or needs for their children.

Except for the bilingual teachers, King School's teachers and office staff could speak little or no Chinese. This fact, together with the overall English-speaking atmosphere of the school, discouraged most immigrant parents from coming to the school for information or to complain.

Of course, Chinese parents traditionally respect the expertise of professional educators and leave the formal education of their children to them without any question. Nevertheless, a continuous dialogue between the community and the school would keep the school both more informed about the students it serves and more aware of the changes in the Chinese community and its educational aspirations. Such a dialogue would also forestall confrontations like the one between the parents and the principal over the restructuring of the bilingual education program.

Title VII and the Bilingual Program. The bilingual program at King School was able to germinate and develop into maturity mainly because of the Title VII funding. The funding allowed the school to hire the bilingual teaching staff essential to the program. It provided support services which were much needed during the program's early stages. The requirements set forth by Title VII also provided a framework and guidelines for the design of the program's instructional objectives and plans. The program staff still referred back to these

regulations for guidance at the time of the study's data collection, three years after the termination of Title VII funding. If the goal of Title VII is to provide seed money for school districts to develop bilingual education programs that could gradually be institutionalized and supported with local revenues, it succeeded in Cherrywood and King School. The King School bilingual program had strengthened and become part of the regular programs offered by the school. The program had also developed its own community interest group that indicated to the administration how much it supported the program.

While Title VII funding was instrumental in getting the bilingual program started at King School, its inflexible guidelines also hampered the integration of the bilingual program into the school proper. Because of the availability of special support services and the existence of separate federal regulations, the program operated as a unit isolated from the rest of the school. Title VII's stringent rules on teaching staff qualifications required the recruitment of new teachers and threatened the job securities of those already teaching at King School. These factors divided the bilingual and non-bilingual teachers into two camps with intense animosity. It was not until 1978, when Title VII funding ended, that the principal could begin to include the bilingual classes in the overall planning for the school. Sharing of resources and cooperation between the bilingual and non-bilingual teachers began to develop only then and at a very slow pace.

Wilson School

While Wilson School has a large number of Chinese students, two factors prevented the development of bilingual education at the school. First, Chinese who lived in the catchment area of Wilson School were mostly second or more generation Chinese Americans who were fluent-English-speakers. Until 1978, the number of LEP students was comparatively small. Their educational needs could be met on an individual basis. Second, the principal of Wilson School from 1971 to 1981 was a foe of bilingual education and stopped any attempt from the district OBE to initiate a bilingual program at the school.

The situation is undergoing gradual change recently. Since 1978, more immigrant families have moved into the vicinity of Wilson School, and its LEP enrollment has steadily been increasing. In 1981, the school was also taken over by a new principal who was more sympathetic to bilingual education. She met with the community on student needs and programs and is planning with her staff to alter the school curriculum accordingly. At the beginning of the 1982 school year, an afterschool Chinese program was started at Wilson and was attended by over thirty students during the first week.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

King School

The following recommendations are specifically aimed at King School and its bilingual education program. However, they may be applicable to other schools and bilingual programs serving similar types of communities.

First, King School should take an active role in communicating with the community. The school should foster an atmosphere which is inviting to the parents and should become an education center where community members would feel comfortable coming in to discuss their children's educational progress and problems. To achieve this, the hiring of a community liaison who can fluently communicate with the parents in Chinese is critical. This person could provide key linkage between the school and the community. Another solution is to make better use of the existing communication channels, such as school advisory committees, parent-teacher associations, etc., to ensure that there is continuous dialogue with the community. Two way, not one way school-to-parent communication must be stressed. With the majority of the parents being limited-English-proficient, the importance of dialoguing in Chinese as well as English cannot be too heavily emphasized. In Little Canton, where the population is undergoing constant changes due to immigration and refugee resettlement, continuous school-community interaction would enable the school to keep abreast of changes and to adapt itself to the educational needs of the population it serves.

Of course, since most minority parents are preoccupied with earning a living and often leave the education of their children entirely to the school, schools must make a special effort to publicize the importance of parental input and participation. To this end, a parent-education program focusing on American eduational practices is advocated as an integral part of the school effort to serve the community.

Parent education is especially important at the beginning of each school year when parents select the King School program in which to enroll their children. An orientation meeting delineating the objectives and pedagogical approaches of bilingual and other programs should be conducted the week before the school term begins. This meeting would help the parents match their education aspirations for their children with the appropriate program choice. In addition, King School could take the opportunity to solicit parental input on its programs. To serve parents who cannot attend this orientation meeting, an information brochure should be prepared bilingually in English and Chinese describing American educational practices, the school system, basic health and other requirements for attending public school, the different programs offered by the school, and parental rights to select programs for their children.

Second, the principal should give priority to bringing together the teaching staff to resolve differences on the school's goals and objectives and to devise educational programs that will meet the diverse needs of all the students. The involvement and input of all the staff in such

planning is important because any programmatic changes must be implemented by the teachers. It is usually more effective to carry out these changes if the teachers have a sense of being initiators than when they feel that the changes are something forced on them from above. Such discussion, planning, and programmatic change should be an ongoing process so that any problems and difficulties encountered by the teachers could be detected and the programs could be fine-tuned. The ongoing process is also necessary so that the school can adopt its services to meet the changing needs of the community it serves. For example, King School is beginning to enrol refugee students from rural areas of the Indo-Chinese peninsula who have no previous schooling experience. As more and more refugee students settle near Little Canton, King School must adjust its programs to serve the special needs of these students.

One immediate problem is how to provide bilingual instruction to more immigrant students without upsetting the existing staffing pattern. Some schools has tackled this problem by teaming a bilingual teacher with a non-bilingual teacher to serve two classes. The bilingual instructor teaches the lessons that require more bilingual instruction (e.g. social studies) to both classes on alternate days while the non-bilingual instructor teaches those subjects that are not as demanding on bilingual instruction (e.g. mathematics). The two half-time bilingual aides for the two classes could also be combined to provide assistance to either teacher when needed.

Another problem is how to handle the dual roles of bilingual education: to provide remedial and enrichment instruction at the same time. While bilingual education is mandated by California state law for the first purpose, the second is clearly the desire of parents. Parental language choice should be acknowedged by the school. After all, in addition to its educational value, a language enrichment program would also further raise the prestige of King School. One solution is to offer Chinese and other enrichment lessons during certain periods on a weekly basis. Parents could select and enroll their children in any of the enrichment lessons. This arrangement would enable the improved delivery of Chinese lessons as the school could consolidate the resources of its Chinese language teachers and offer more levels of Chinese instruction to match the profiency levels of the students.

If the enrichment function of bilingual education, i.e. the development of the students' Chinese proficiency, is to be taken seriously, King School must also improve and formalize the evaluation of student achievement in the Chinese language. Due to the lack of standardized instruments to measure Chinese achievement, King School should seek advice from experts to assist them in this task.

As for the use of Chinese and English for bilingual instruction, chapter nine of this report compared the "random type" with the "translation type" of code-switching styles and found the former type to be more effective in engaging the students. However, the findings are based on only two teachers and are not conclusive. It is recommended that discussion on this topic be included in the on-going planning meetings of the King School staff. As for ESL lessons, this study

recommends that the learning environment be more naturalistic and students be acknowledged when using their first language to encourage their overall language use.

Wilson School

As more and more immigrant families are moving into its catchment area, Wilson School will continue to have an increasing enrollment of LEP students. To provide services to these students, the school should also open up its channels of communication for the non-English-speaking parents. The recruitment of a community liaison person who can fluently communicate with the parents in Chinese should be a priority for the school. The principal should engage the staff in an ongoing process of discussion and planning on how to provide services to the students. There is indication that the new principal has already embarked on such activities and some changes have already been implemented. As for specific suggestions, many of those for King School are also be applicable for Wilson. However, one further recommendation is for Wilson School to fill any future vacancies with teachers who are fluent-speakers of Chinese.

Cherrywood School District

Despite the intention of the Cherrywood school board and the central administration to support bilingual education, its implementation has not been well accepted at the school level as seen at King School. A major factor is the lack of a district master plan for bilingual education which clearly delineates the objectives, target populations and program designs. Without such a plan, the goals and objectives of bilingual education become subject to the discretion of individual site administrators. However, a complex instructional program such as bilingual education cannot be successfully implemented on an idiosyncratic basis. A clearly delineated district plan, stating the "how" and "for whom" of bilingual education, would provide guidance to the bilingual teachers on how to serve a class containing both fluent English speakers who want to develop their Chinese proficiency and immigrant and refugee students whose first priority is to learn English. Of course, such a master plan should not be overly prescriptive in program configuration. It should be goal oriented allowing both time and flexibility for individual schools to design programs that meet the needs of the community it serves.

Given the diverse make-up of the student populations at King and Wilson Schools, adequate support services — such as aides, ESL teachers, and especially community liaison persons — must be provided in order to meet the wide range of educational demands. Cherrywood school district, when making budget appropriations, should ensure that adequate funding be allocated to these schools with special needs.

Federal and State Level

When the Republication administration took office in 1981, the role of the federal government in public education was reduced. Many categorical programs were collapsed into block grants, and the overall

educational appropriation was cut. In addition, regulations for the remaining categorical funds are being simplified. Confidence in the commitment and expertise of local communities to provide quality and equitable education underlies these policies. In response, states and districts should establish explicit guidelines to ensure that federal block grants and categorical funds will be expended appropriately on worthwhile programs for students most in need.

Though no longer prescribing instructions for schools, the Department of Education is still charged with the responsibility of protecting the civil rights of the students. To accomplish this, legislation should be enacted to ensure that schools meet the needs of the communities they are serving. This is important for minority groups in large school districts. These minority groups, usually small in number and lacking in political savvy, are often ignored in district-wide decision making. In the case of communities with large numbers of immigrants and refugees, such as Little Canton, the problem is even more serious. Since immigrants and refugees are not allowed to vote in political elections until they have lived in the country for three to five years and have become citizens, elected district officials are often oblivious to their needs. Such legislation could take the form requiring school districts to conduct survey on the educational needs of the communities they serve and to develop education program to meet the local needs.

This study also revealed issues concerning how two languages are used differently in bilingual classrooms to accomplish different objectives and how code-switching styles affects the students engagement in the lessons. However, because of the case study design of the study, these findings cannot be generalized and are not conclusive. The Department of Education should encourage further research in this area to improve the understanding of bilingual instruction.

Bilingual education has been mandated both at the federal and state levels for the education of LEP students. However, given the desire of Chinese parents to develop their children's Chinese proficiency and the high status of bilingualism in the community, King School is actually an ideal place for developing Chinese/English bilinguals to meet the increasing national demand for people with foreign language skills. Federal and state governments should encourage the development of the enrichment type of bilingual programs with the objective of developing bilingual professionals who can deal more effectively with international trade and diplomacy among increasingly interdependent countries.

APPENDIX A

A LINGUISTIC COMPARISON OF THE CHINESE DIALECTS

INTRODUCTION

In the following sections, we briefly compare the four dialects, Standard Cantonese, Siyi, Zhongshan, and Mandarin, covered in Chapter IV from the standpoint of (1) phonology, i.e., the sound system; (2) morphology, i.e., word formation; (3) syntax, i.e., aspects of grammar; and (4) vocabulary. This comparison is based on a consistent, widely accepted methodology, and is intended to aid in the assessment of language needs in Chinese/English bilingual education.[1]

DEFINITION AND LOCATION

Yue Dialects

Three of the dialects in this survey, Standard Cantonese, Zhongshan, and Siyi, belong to the Yue dialect group. Yue speakers comprise about 5% of the total population in mainland China; they are centered almost exclusively in the provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi. Over two million of the eleven million ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia and the Pacific also speak Yue dialects, as well as almost the entire Chinese population of Hong Kong (over five million speakers). The majority of Chinese speakers in North America and Hawaii are also Yue speakers. Yue dialects can be divided into a number of subgroups, including (1) Yuehai, comprising Standard Cantonese, Zhongshan, and a number of other Yue dialects spoken in the Pearl River Delta region, and (2) Siyi ("Four Districts"), including the Yue dialects spoken in the counties of Taishan, Kaiping, Enping, and Xinhui in Guangdong province. The present survey will focus in part on the similarities and differences among Standard Cantonese, Zhongshan, and Siyi. In addition, we will examine those features which distinguish Yue dialects as a whole from our fourth survey dialect, Putonghua (Mandarin).

Standard Cantonese (SCan). Standard Cantonese is the predominant language of the city of Guangzhou (Canton) and the nearby three counties ("Sanyi") of Nanhai, Panyu, and Shunde, all in Guangdong province. SCan is also the native language of most of the Chinese population of Hong Kong. Several decades ago, the majority of Yue speakers in North America spoke Siyi or Zhongshan; however, recent immigration from Hong Kong has caused the number SCan speakers in North America to rise dramatically. The SCan data cited in the present study is drawn from such sources as Hashimoto (1972), Cheung (1972), and Yuan (1960). In particular, we will be using mostly SCan data to typify Yue dialects in our discussion of the contrastive morphology, syntax, and vocabulary of Yue and Putonghua.

Zhongshan (ZShan). Zhongshan is the dialect of Yue spoken in the vicinity of Shiqizhen (Shekki), the seat of Zhongshan County in Guangdong province. Precise statistics are not available concerning the ZShan speaking population either in mainland China or outside.

However, we can assume that there are at least several tens of thousands of ZShan speakers in Hong Kong, and it appears that ZShan speakers comprise the majority of the Chinese speaking population in Hawaii. It is important to note that a large part of the population of ZShan County in mainland China does not speak ZShan Yue, but instead Longdu, a Min dialect which shows a large borrowed stratum of ZShan Yue vocabulary. Thus, ethnic Chinese "from Zhongshan" but now living in Hong Kong or the United States may be speakers of Longdu rather than ZShan Yue. The variety of ZShan cited in the present survey is basically that of Chao (1948).

Siyi. In socio-political terms, Siyi refers to the four populous counties of Taishan, Enping, Kaiping, and Xinhui, southwest of the city of Guangzhou in Guangdong province. Linguistically, Siyi designates the subgroup of Yue dialects spoken in the above counties. Within Siyi itself there are numerous distinct dialect subtypes (see McCoy 1966). As a group, however, Siyi dialects consistently differ from the Yuehai subgroup vis a vis a number of major phonological features. The variety of Siyi cited in the present study is spoken in the Chaojing district of Taishan county, as extensively described in Cheng (1973).

Putonghua (BJing)

Putonghua, also referred to as Guoyu (National Language) or Mandarin, is the official language of the People's Republic of China and of Taiwan. It is based almost exclusively on the phonology, morphology, syntax, and, to a lesser extent, the vocabulary of the Beijing dialect. Beijing itself belongs to the Northern subgroup of the Mandarin dialect group, comprising about 70% of the Chinese speakers in mainland China.

The majority of the Chinese speakers in Taiwan speak Putonghua. The situation in mainland China is more complicated: while Putonghua is the official language of the People's Republic, it is not the native language of most mainland Chinese speakers. Those mainland speakers who learn Putonghua as adults frequently show non-standard features in their pronunciation. On the other hand, Putonghua is mutually intelligible with many Mandarin dialects other than Beijing. Also, because of its extensive use in sociopolitical contexts, Putonghua is understandable to many non-Mandarin speakers who cannot speak Putonghua themselves. The relative proportion of Putonghua speakers in mainland China can be expected to increase rapidly as new generations learn the language in school.

PHONOLOGY INTRODUCTION

Chinese dialects are often characterized as monosyllabic and tonal. More specifically, this means that morphemes (minimal units of meaning) are usually one syllable in length, and that distinctions in tones, as well as distinctions in consonants and vowels, determine the phonological make-up of morphemes. A typical format for discussing the Chinese syllable is seen in Chart 1:

Chart (1)
The Chinese Syllable

TONE			
INITIAL	FINAL		
	MEDIAL	NUCLEUS	ENDING

Here, "initial" denotes the initial consonant, "final" denotes the sequence of segments following the initial, and "tone" denotes a pitch pattern which is suprasegmental, i.e., which applies to the syllable as a whole. Some further remarks are in order concerning the make-up of the initial, final, and tone. Most Chinese dialects have some morphemes that lack an initial consonant; it is often useful to refer to such morphemes as showing a "zero" (∅) initial. The final itself comprises (1) a medial (an on-glide such as [i], [u], or [y]); (2) a nucleus (a vowel or a syllabic consonant); and (3) an ending (a final consonant or an offglide such as [i], [u], or [y]). Tones in our transcription are represented by two or three digits, the highest point in the speaker's tonal range being '5' and the lowest, '1'. Thus, '55' represents a high, level tone; whereas '35' represents a tone which begins at a point mid-range and rises to the highest point in the speaker's range. As an illustration of a maximally complex Chinese syllable, consider the following paradigm taken from BJing:

[ɕiaŋ55]	'fragrant'
[ɕiaŋ35]	'auspicious'
[ɕiaŋ214]	'to think'
[ɕiaŋ51]	'elephant'

Each of the above syllables has the same initial, [ɕ], and the same final, [iaŋ], comprised of a medial [i], nucleus [a], and ending, [ŋ]. In this particular paradigm, then, the difference in meaning between morphemes is signalled solely by a difference in tone: for 'fragrant', the tone is high level (55); for 'auspicious', mid-rising (35); for 'to think', low dipping (214), and for 'elephant', high falling (51). Other syllable types and paradigms will be discussed under individual dialects.

Standard Cantonese

Phonetic Inventory:

INITIALS:

						PLACE OF ARTICULATION
p	p'	m	f			(labial/labiodental)
t	t'	n		l		(alveolar)
tʃ	tʃ'		ʃ		j	(alveo-palatal)
k	k'					(velar)
kw	kw'				w	(labio-velar)
			h			(glottal)

FINALS:

a	a:i	a:u	a:m	a:n	a:ŋ	a:p	a:t	a:k
	ai	au	am	an	aŋ	ap	at	ak
e	ei				eŋ			ek
i		iu	im	in	iŋ	ip	it	ik
o	oi	ou		on	oŋ		ot	ok
u	ui			un	uŋ		ut	uk
oe	oey			oen	oeŋ		oet	oek
y				yn			yt	

TONES: 55 'high-level' 33 'mid-level' 35 'mid-rising'
31 'mid-falling' 22 'low-level' 23 'low-rising

BASIC SYLLABLE FORMAT

TONE	
INITIAL	FINAL
	NUCLEUS (ENDING)

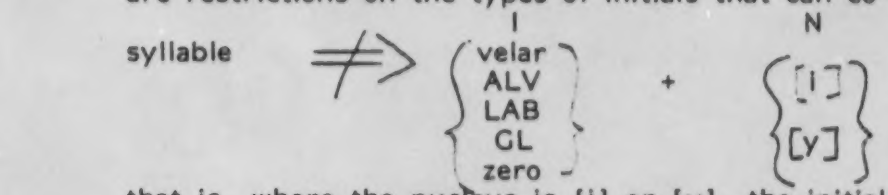
Discussion.

(a) The basic syllable format for SCan as well as Siyi and ZShan contains no medial; thus, possible syllable types consist of (1) an optional initial, (2) an obligatory nucleus, (3) an optional ending, and (4) an obligatory tone.

(b) SCan, as well as Siyi and ZShan, allows [p, t, k, m, n, ŋ] as consonant endings and [ŋ] as an initial consonant. On the other hand, SCan, Siyi, and ZShan show only a single series of affricate initials.

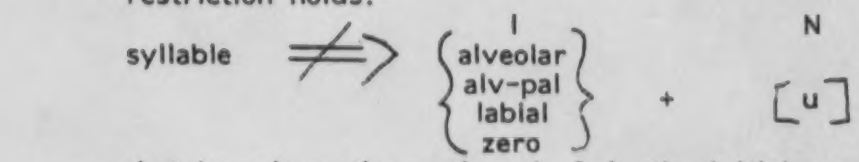
(c) SCan shows six distinct tonal contrasts. Of these, tones 55, 33, and 22 may occur with syllables ending in stop consonants [p, t, k], whereas all six tones may occur with other types of syllables.

(d) Where the final consists of only the vowel [i] or [y], there are restrictions on the types of initials that can co-occur:



that is, where the nucleus is [i] or [y], the initial cannot be velar, alveolar, glottal, labial/labiodental, or zero. Syllables of the type [ki], [ky], [pi], [hy], [hi], [y], [ti], etc. are thus prohibited in SCan.

(e) Where the final consists of only the vowel [u], the following restriction holds:



that is, where the nucleus is [u], the initial cannot be alveolar, alveo-palatal, labial, or zero. In other words, syllables of the type [tu], [su], [t u], [nu], [u] are prohibited in SCan.

(f) SCan is frequently characterized as showing a length distinction in finals with nuclear [a], e.g. [a:i] (long [a]) vs. [ai] (short [a]). This length distinction is a striking feature of Yuehai dialects, being less common elsewhere in Yue and other Chinese dialect groups.

(g) SCan shows two syllabic nasal consonants, [m̩] and [ŋ̩]. Syllabic nasals are highly typical of Yue dialects, but do not occur in BJing and most other Guanhua dialects.

Speaker Variation in SCan. Significant variation among SCan speakers occurs in the following areas of the SCan phonology:

(a) Place of articulation of initial affricates [tʃ, tʃʻ, ʃ]. With respect to the articulation of the initial affricate series, SCan speakers show a more or less alveo-palatal articulation. This is the pronunciation most often reported by our SCan sources. Other SCan speakers may show an alveolar articulation (i.e. [ts, ts', s]), or else vary between an alveo-palatal and alveolar articulation under conditions not yet known to us. The following examples illustrate the three articulation types just described:

	'paper'	'pond'	'poem'
(1) alveo-palatal type	[tʃi 35]	[tʃʻi 31]	[ʃi 55]
(2) alveolar type	[tsi 35]	[ts'i 31]	[si 55]
(3) variable type	[tʃi 35] / [tsi 35]	[tʃʻi 31] / [ts'i 31]	[ʃi 55] / [si 55]

(b) Contrast between alveolar lateral [l] and nasal [n] initials Some SCan speakers maintain a historically based distinction between initial [l] and [n]. This is the pronunciation most often reported by our sources on SCan. Other SCan speakers may only show initial [l], or only show initial [n], or else may vary between initial [l] and [n]

under conditions not yet known to us. The following examples illustrate the four contrast/noncontrast situations just described:

	'male'	'blue'
(1) initial [l] vs. [n] contrast	[na:m 31]	[la:m 31]
(2) initial [l] only	[la:m 31]	[la:m 31]
(3) initial [n] only	[na:m 31]	[na:n 31]
(4) variation between initial [l] and [n]	[la:m 31]/[na:m 31]	[la:m 31]/[na:m 31]

(c) Contrast between syllabic bilabial [m] and velar [ŋ̍] nasals. Many SCan speakers maintain a historically based distinction between the syllabic consonants [m̩] and [ŋ̍]. This is the pronunciation most often reported by our sources on SCan. Other SCan speakers show only syllabic [m]. The following examples illustrate the two contrast/noncontrast situations just described:

	'no, not'	'Ng' (family name)
(1) bilabial vs. velar contrast	[m̩ 31]	[ŋ̍ 31]
(2) bilabial only	[m̩ 31]	[m̩ 31]

(d) Contrast between velar nasal [ŋ] and zero initials. Many SCan speakers maintain an historically based distinction whereby a certain set of morphemes shows initial [ŋ], while another set shows no initial consonant. This is the pronunciation most often reported by our sources on SCan. Other SCan speakers show initial [ŋ] for both morpheme sets, or show no initial consonant for either set, or else vary between initial [ŋ] and no initial consonant, under conditions which are not yet known to us. The following examples illustrate the four contrast/noncontrast situations just described:

	'cow'	'Europe'	'tooth'	'Asia'
(1) initial [ŋ] vs. [ø] contrast	[ŋau 23]	[au 55]	[ŋa 31]	[a 33]
(2) initial [ŋ] only	[ŋau 23]	[ŋau 55]	[ŋa 31]	[ŋa 33]
(3) initial [ø] only	[au 23]	[au 55]	[a 31]	[a 33]
(4) variation between initial [ŋ] and [ø]	[ŋau 23]/ [au 23]	[ŋau 55]/ [au55]	[ŋa 31]/ [a 31]	[ŋa33]/ [a 33]

Zhongshan (ZShan)

INITIALS:

PLACE OF ARTICULATION

p	p'	m	f			labial/labiodental
t	t'	n		l		alveolar (non-affricate)
t	t					alveolar (affricate)
					j	alveo-palatal
k	k'	ŋ				velar
kw	kw'				w	labio-velar
			h			glottal

FINALS: (: indicates the preceding vowel is long)

a	a:i	a:u	a:m	a:n	a:ŋ	a:p	a:t	a:k
	ai	au	am	an	aŋ	ap	at	ak
e					eŋ			
i		iu	im	in	iŋ	ip	it	ik
o	oi	ou	om	on	oŋ	op	ot	ok
u				un	uŋ		ut	uk
oe	oey			oen	oeŋ		oet	oek
y				yn			yt	
m ŋ								

TONES: 55 'high-level' 13 'low-rising' 51 'high-falling'
22 'low-level'

BASIC SYLLABLE FORMAT: As for SCan (see above).

Discussion.

(a) The ZShan inventory of initials and finals is quite similar to that of SCan. Exceptions: ZShan lacks SCan final [ei], but shows finals [om] and [op] which are not SCan finals. Also, corresponding to SCan alveo-palatal [tʃ, tʃ', ʃ], ZShan has alveolar [ts, ts', s].

(b) ZShan shows fewer overall tonal contrasts than SCan. Only two tones (55 and 22) can occur with stopped syllables.

(c) Syllable types prohibited by 2.3.2(d) and (e) in SCan are permissible in ZShan. On the other hand initial [f] preceding nuclear [u] is prohibited in ZShan, but is permissible in SCan, Siyi, and BJing.

(d) In certain ZShan finals, the nucleus is actually pronounced as a sequence of two vowels, a phenomenon called "breaking." Thus, ZShan [e, eŋ, ek] comes out as (i:a, i:aŋ, i:ak', [o, oŋ, ok] as (o: ɔ, o:ɔŋ, o:ɔk), and [oeŋ, oek] as (oe:ɔŋ, oe:ɔk). This kind of breaking is not a significant feature of SCan or BJing, although it does occur in a number of Siyi dialects (cf. data from McCoy 1966). In the Siyi dialect cited in the present survey, breaking is optional in the case of finals [eŋ, ek], which may be pronounced (ae:ɔŋ, ae:ɔk) (cf. Cheng, 1973; pp. 267-268).

(e) The ZShan initials [m], [n], [ŋ] tend to be phonetically realized as prenasalized stops, i.e., [mb], [nd], [ŋg], respectively. In this respect, ZShan is similar to Siyi, but differs from SCan and BJing.

Siyi
INITIALS:

						PLACE OF ARTICULATION
p	p'	m	f			labial/labiodental
t	t'	n		l	x	alveolar
tʃ	tʃ'				j	alveo-palatal
k	k'	ŋ				velar
kw	kw'				w	labio-velar
			h			glottal

FINALS:

a	ai	au	am	an	aŋ	ap	at	ak
e		eu	em	en	eŋ	ep	et	ek
i		iu	im	in	iŋ	ip	it	ik
o	oi			on	oŋ		ot	ok
u	ui			un	uŋ		ut	uk
m								

TONES: 33 (mid-level) 55 (high-rising) 42 (high-falling)
22 (high-falling) 31 (low-falling)

BASIC SYLLABLE FORMAT: as for SCan (see above)

Discussion.

(a) Siyi lacks nuclear vowels [oe] and [y], and the nuclear contrast between nuclear long [a:] and short [a], all in contrast to SCan and ZShan. As in SCan, three tones (55, 33, 42) may occur with syllables ending in final stops.
(b) The inital consonant system is similar to that of SCan and ZShan, except that Siyi also shows the initial voiceless lateral [ɬ], not present in any of the other surveyed dialects.
(c) Syllable types prohibited by 2.3.2(d) and (e) in SCan are permissible in Siyi (cf. also ZShan).
(d) The Siyi initials [m], [n], [ŋ] tend to be phonetically realized as prenasalized stops, i.e. [mb], [nd], [ŋg], respectively (cf. ZShan, but not SCan or BJing).

BJing Phonology

INITIALS:						PLACE OF ARTICULATION
p	p'	m	f			labial/labiodental
t	t'	n		l		alveolar (non-affricate)
ts	ts'		s			alveolar (affricate)
ts	ts'		s	z		retroflex
t						pre-palatal
k	k'		x			velar

FINALS:

z	z	a		o		ai	ei	au	ou	an	n	a		o
	i	ia			i			iau	iou	i n	in	ia	i	io
	u	ua		uo		uai	uei			uan	u n	u	u	
	y				y					y n	yn			

TONES: 55 (high-rising), 35 (mid-rising), 214 (low dipping),
51 (high-falling)

BASIC SYLLABLE FORMAT:

	TONE		
	FINAL		
INITIAL	MEDIAL	NUCLEUS	ENDING

Discussion.

(a) In Bjing, the basic syllable consists of (1) an optional initial (I), (2) an obligatory nucleus (N), (3) an optional medial (M) and/or ending (E), and (4) an obligatory tone. The relatively large number of BJing finals containing medials contrasts sharply with the almost total lack of such finals in Yue dialects. Conversely, BJing shows fewer tonal contrasts than any Yue dialect. Note the following examples of BJing syllable types:

		type			type
[u 51]	'error'	N	[ku 51]	'reason'	IN
[ua 51]	'stocking'	MN	[kua 51]	'hang'	IMN
[ai 51]	'to love'	NE	[kai 51]	'to cover'	INE
[uai 51]	'outside'	MNE	[kuai 51]	'strange'	IMNE

(b) Where the nucleus is a syllabic consonant [z] or [z], no medial or ending can co-occur, and an alveolar or retroflex affricate initial is obligatory, e.g. [sʐ 51] 'four', [tsʐ 214] 'to stop'.

(c) In basic syllables, the only possible consonant endings are [n] and [ŋ]; [ŋ] cannot be an initial consonant. On the other hand, the system of initial affricate consonants ([ts...], [tʂ...], [tɕ ...]) is relatively complex. The relative simplicity of consonant endings and complexity of initial affricates in BJing contrasts sharply with the situation in Yue dialects.

(d) An important restriction on syllable types in BJing can be expressed as follows:

$$\text{I}_{\text{syllable}} \Longrightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{velar}\\ \text{retroflex}\\ \text{alv affr}\end{matrix}\right\} \quad \begin{matrix}\text{M}\\ \text{N}\\ + \\ [\text{i, y}]\end{matrix}$$

i.e., if the initial consonant is velar, prepalatal, retroflex, or an alveolar affricate, a following medial or nucleus cannot be [i] or [y]. Syllables of the type [ki], [ky], [si], [tsy], [kia], [tsye], etc. are thus prohibited in BJing.

Speaker Variation. Speakers of nonstandard varieties of BJing may show one or more of the following features:

(a) Merger of the initial alveolar [ts ...] and retroflex [ʦ ...] affricates as a single series, usually alveolar. For example, standard pronunciation differentiates [san 55] 'mountain' ≠ [san 55] 'three', whereas nonstandard pronunciation may treat them as homophones: [san 55] 'mountain' = [san 55] 'three'.

(b) Variable treatment of the contrast between initial [n] and [l]. In standard pronunciation, initial [n] and [l] are distinct: [nan 35] 'south' ≠ [lan 35] 'blue'. In non-standard pronunciation, initial [n] may replace [l], or vice versa; or else initial [n] and [l] may occur in free variation; e.g.

Standard	[nan 35] 'south' = [lan 35] 'blue'
Nonstandard	[nan 35] 'south' = [nan 35] 'blue'
or	[lan 35] 'south' = [lan 35] 'blue'
or	[nan 35 / lan 35] 'south' = [nan 35 / lan 35] 'blue'

(c) Use of a glottal fricative initial [h] instead of a velar fricative initial [x] or else free variation between [h] and [x]. This feature is found with both standard and non-standard speakers.

Regular Phonological Correspondences

One major source of the differences among Chinese dialects results from differences in the sound changes over a given set of morphemes. We have already discussed in 1 - 2.4 some of the differences in initial, final, and tonal inventories of the survey dialects. In the present section, we will consider a number of systematic phonological correspondences among survey dialects for given sets of morphemes.

Alveolar Stop Initials. Generally, where BJing, SCan, and ZShan show initial [t'], Siyi shows initial [h]; where BJing, SCan, and ZShan show initial [t'], Siyi shows no initial consonant.

	SCan	ZShan	Siyi	BJing
'copper'	[t'uŋ 31]	[t'uŋ 51]	[huŋ 22]	[t'uŋ 35]
'east'	[tuŋ 55]	[tuŋ 55]	[uŋ 33]	[tuŋ 55]
'sky'	[t'in 55]	[t'in 55]	[hiŋ 33]	[t'ian 55]
'electric'	[tin 22]	[tin 22]	[iŋ 42]	[tian 51]
'bean'	[tau 33]	[tau 22]	[au 33]	[tou 51]
'head'	[t'au 31]	[t'au 51]	[hau 22]	[t'ou 35]

Alveolar Affricate Initials. In morphemes where BJing has initial [ts, ts', s], SCan has [tʃ, tʃ', ʃ], ZShan has [ts, ts', s], and Siyi has [t, t', ɬ]:

	SCan	ZShan	Siyi	BJing
'ancestor'	[tʃou 35]	[tsu 13]	[tu 55]	[tsu 214]
'vinegar'	[tʃou 33]	[ts'u 22]	[t'u 33]	[ts'u 51]
'plain'	[ʃou 33]	[su 22]	[ɬu 33]	[su 51]
'son'	[tʃi 35]	[tsi 13]	[tu 55]	[tsz 214]
'order'	[tʃi 33]	[tsi 22]	[t'i 33]	[ts'z 51]
'four'	[ʃei 33]	[si 22]	[ɬi 33]	[sz 51]

Retroflex Affricate Initials. In morphemes where BJing has initial [tʂ, tʂ', ʂ, ʐ], SCan has [tʃ, tʃ', ʃ, j], ZShan has [ts, ts', s, j] and Siyi has [tʃ, tʃ', ʃ, ŋ]:

	SCan	ZShan	Siyi	BJing
'accurate'	[tʃoen 35]	[tsoen 13]	[tʃun 55]	[tʂuɔn 214]
'springtime'	[t'oen 55]	[ts'oen 55]	[tʃun 33]	[tʂuɔn 55]
'follow'	[ʃoen 22]	[soen 22]	[ʃun 42]	[ʂuɔn 51]
'leap(year)'	[joen 22]	[joen 22]	[ŋun 42]	[ʐuɔn 51]
'paper'	[tʃi 35]	[tsi 13]	[tʃi 55]	[tsz 214]
'pond'	[tʃ'i 31]	[ts'i 51]	[tʃ'i 22]	[ts'z 35]
'poem'	[ʃi 55]	[si 55]	[ʃi 33]	[sz 55]
'sun'	[jat 22]	[jat 22]	[ŋit 42]	[zz 51]

Initial Off-glide. Where SCan allows the contrast between initial [k, k'] and [kw, kw'] before finals [o, oŋ, ok], Siyi and ZShan allow only [k, k']. In BJing, the SCan [kw] vs. [k], etc. contrast is paralleled by the presence or absence of BJing medial [u].

	SCan	ZShan	Siyi	BJing
'river'	[koŋ 55]	[koŋ 55]	[koŋ 33]	[tɕiaŋ 55]
'light'	[kwoŋ 55]	[koŋ 55]	[koŋ 33]	[kuaŋ 55]
'item'	[ko 33]	[ko 22]	[koi 33]	[kɔ 51]
'to pass'	[kwo 33]	[ko 22]	[ko 33]	[kuo 51]
'angle'	[kok 33]	[kok 22]	[kok 33]	[tɕiau 214]
'country'	[kwok 33]	[kok 22]	[kok 33]	[kuo 35]

ZShan Initial [h] vs. SCan, Siyi Initial [f] with Certain Finals. Where SCan has initial [f] before nuclear [u], and Siyi has initial [f] before finals [u, u , uk] and [oi, on, ot], ZShan shows initial [h] in corresponding morphemes. The BJing correspondences are complex and will not be treated in detail here.

	ZShan	SCan	Siyi	BJing
'husband'	[hu 55]	[fu 55]	[fu 33]	[fu 55]
'ash'	[hui 55]	[fui 55]	[foi 33]	[xuei 55]
'enjoy'	[hun 55]	[fun 55]	[fon 33]	[xuan 55]
'wide'	[hut 22]	[fut 33]	[fot 33]	[k'uo 51]
'wind'	[huŋ 55]	[fuŋ 55]	[fuŋ 33]	[fɔŋ 55]
'fortune'	[huk 55]	[fuk 55]	[fuk 33]	[fu 35]

[om/op] vs. [am/ap]. Where ZShan shows the final [om] and [op], SCan and Siyi show [am] and [ap]. The BJing correspondences are complex and will not be treated in detail here.

	ZShan	SCan	Siyi	BJing
'sweet'	[kom 55]	[kam 55]	[kam 33]	[kan 55]
'combine'	[hop 22]	[hap 22]	[hap 42]	[hɔ 35]

Other Final Correspondences.

(a) [i]/[u] vs. [ei]/[ou]; [y] vs. [oey]. Generally, in morphemes where BJing, ZShan and Siyi show finals [i] and [u], SCan has [i] or [ei], [u] or [ou] depending on the SCan initial. Also, where ZShan shows the final [y], SCan has [y] or [oey], again depending on the initial SCan consonant (the Siyi and BJing correspondences vary greatly and will not be discussed in detail here).

	SCan	ZShan	Siyi	BJing
'skin'	[p'ei 31]	[p'i 51]	[p'i 22]	[p'i 35]
'pear'	[lei 31]	[li 51]	[li 22]	[li 35
'machine'	[kei 55]	[ki 55]	[ki 33]	[ɕi 55]
'clothes'	[ji 55]	[i 55]	[ji 33]	[i 55]
'poem'	[ʃi 55]	[ʐi 55]	[ʃi 33]	[ʂʐ 55]
'universal'	[p'ou 35]	[p'u 13]	[p'u 55]	[p'u 35]
'road'	[lou 22]	[lu 22]	[lu 42]	[lu 51]
'vinegar'	[tʃ'ou 33]	[tʂ'u 22]	[tʃ'u 33]	[ts'u 51]
'bitter'	[fu 35]	[fu 13]	[fu 55]	[k'u 214]
'maiden'	[ku 55]	[ku 55]	[ku 33]	[ku 55]
'female'	[noey 23]	[ny 13]	[nui 31]	[ny 214]
'take'	[tʃ'oey 35]	[tʂ'y 13]	[tʃ'ui 55]	[tɕ' y 214]
'live'	[koey 55]	[ky 55]	[hui 33]	[tɕ y 55]
'go'	[hoey 33]	[hy 22]	[kui 33]	[tɕ' y 51]
'fish'	[jy 31]	[y 51]	[ʒui 22]	[y 214]
'tree'	[ʃy 22]	[ʂ y 22]	[ʃi 42]	[ʂu 51]
'master'	[tʃy 35]	[tʂy 13]	[tʃi 55]	[tʂu 214]

(b) SCan/ZShan [a:i] vs. [ai]. Where SCan and ZShan have [a:i], BJing shows [ai] or [iɛ], depending on the particular morpheme; where SCan and ZShan have [ai], BJing shows [i], [(u)ei], or [ɿ]. Siyi has [ai] for both SCan/ZShan [a:i] and [ai].

	SCan	ZShan	Siyi	BJing
'buy'	[ma:i 23]	[ma:i 13]	[mai 55]	[mai 214]
'fast'	[fa:i 33]	[fa:i 22]	[fai 55]	[k'uai 214]
'to sun'	[ʃa:i 33]	[ʂa:i 22]	[ʃai 55]	[sai 51]
'carry'	[ta:i 33]	[ta:i 22]	[tai 33]	[tai 51]
'street'	[ka:i 55]	[ka:i 55]	[kai 33]	[tɕiɛ 55]
'shoe'	[ha:i 31]	[ha:i 51]	[hai 22]	[ɕiɛ 35]
'rice'	[mai 23]	[mai 13]	[mai 31]	[mi 214]
'glory'	[fai 55]	[fai 55]	[fai 33]	[xuei 55]
'rule'	[tʃai 33]	[tʂai 22]	[tʃai 33]	[tʂʅ 51]
'wash'	[ʃai 35]	[ʂai 13]	[ʃai 55]	[ɕi 214]
'low'	[tai 55]	[tai 55]	[tai 33]	[ti 55]
'chicken'	[kai 55]	[kai 55]	[kai 33]	[tɕi 55]
'craft'	[ŋai 22]	[ŋai 22]	[ŋai 42]	[i 51]
'ghost'	[kwai 35]	[kwai 13]	[kwai 55]	[kuei 214]

(c) SCan/ZShan [au] vs. [a:u] vs. [iu]. Where SCan and ZShan have [au], Siyi shows [au] or [iu], and BJing shows [ou] or [iou], depending on the particular morpheme. Where SCan and ZShan have [a:u], Siyi shows [au] and BJing shows [au] or [iau]. Where SCan and ZShan have [iu], Siyi shows [eu] and BJing again shows [au] or [iau].

	SCan	ZShan	Siyi	BJing
'dog'	[kau 35]	[kau 13]	[kau 55]	[kou 214]
'nine'	[kau 35]	[kau 13]	[kiu 55]	[tɕiou 214]
'test'	[k'a:u 35]	[k'a:u 13]	[k'au 55]	[k'au 214]
'exchange'	[ka:u 55]	[ka:u 55]	[kau 33]	[tɕiau 55]
'bake'	[ʃiu 55]	[ʂiu 55]	[ʃeu 33]	[sau 55]
'laugh'	[ʃiu 33]	[ʂiu 22]	[ɕeu 33]	[ɕiau 51]

(d) SCan/ZShan [im]/[in], [ip]/[it]. Where SCan and ZShan have [im], Siyi shows [em]; where SCan and ZShan have [in], Siyi usually shows [iŋ]. BJing has [an] or [ian] for SCan/ZShan [im]/[in]. Likewise, for SCan/ZShan [ip]/[it], Siyi shows [ep]/[ik]; Bjing shows [ɤ] or [iɛ].

	SCan	ZShan	Siyi	BJing
'point'	[tim 35]	[tim 13]	[em 55]	[tian 214]
'electric'	[tin 33]	[tin 22]	[iŋ 33]	[tian 51]
'flash'	[ʃim 35]	[ʂim 13]	[ʃim 55]	[ʂan 214]
'fan'	[ʃin 33]	[ʂin 22]	[ʃiŋ 33]	[ʂan 51]
'dish'	[tip 22]	[tip 22]	[ep 42]	[tiɛ 35]
'trip'	[tit 33]	[tit 22]	[ik 33]	[tiɛ 35]
'wade'	[ʃip 33]	[ʂip 22]	[ʃep 33]	[ʂɤ 51]
'tongue'	[ʃit 33]	[ʂit 22]	[ʃik 33]	[ʂɤ 35]

Final Consonants. Where Yue dialects have the nasal consonant endings [m] and [n], BJing shows only [n]. Where Yue dialects have

the stop consonant endings [p, t, k], BJing shows no consonant ending.

	SCan	ZShan	Siyi	BJing
'three'	[ʃa:m 55]	[ʂa:m 55]	[ʃam 33]	[san 55]
'mountain'	[ʃa:n 55]	[ʂa:n 55]	[ʃan 33]	[ʂan 55]
'life'	[ʃaŋ 55]	[ʂaŋ 55]	[ʃaŋ 33]	[ʂəŋ 55]
'gold'	[kam 55]	[kam 55]	[kim 33]	[tɕin 55]
'near'	[kan 33]	[kan 22]	[kin 33]	[tɕin 51]
'apricot'	[haŋ 22]	[haŋ 22]	[haŋ 42]	[ɕiŋ 51]
'ten'	[ʃap 22]	[ʂap 22]	[ʃip 42]	[ʂʅ 35]
'lose'	[ʃat 55]	[ʂat 55]	[ʃit 55]	[ʂʅ 55]
'rock'	[ʃek 22]	[ʂek 22]	[ʃek 42]	[ʂʅ 35]
'leaf'	[jip 22]	[jip 22]	[ep 42]	[iɛ 51]
'one'	[jat 55]	[jat 55]	[jit 55]	[i 55]
'profit'	[jik 55]	[jik 55]	[jik 55]	[i 51]

Tones. Note the following tonal correspondences (the numbers in parentheses refer to historical tonal categories relevant for Chinese dialects):

	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)	(3a)	(3b)
SCan	55	31	35	23	33	22
Siyi	33	22	55	31	33	42
ZShan	55	22	13	13	51	51
BJing	55	35	214	214/51	51	51

In syllables with final stops (Yue only):

	(4a hi)	(4a mid)	(4b)
SCan	55	42	33
Siyi	55	42	33
ZShan	55	22	22

Among the dialects surveyed here, SCan shows the largest number of tonal contrasts: six tones with nonstopped syllables, and three tones with stopped syllables. The remaining dialects differ from SCan in that they combine two or more tonal categories which SCan keeps apart. Thus, in Siyi, categories (1a) and (3a) merge as a single tone, 33. In ZShan, (2a) and (2b) merge as 13, (3a) and (3b) merge as 51, (4a mid) and (b) merge as 22. In BJing, (3a) and (3b) merge as 51; (2b) with sonorant initials (e.g., m, n, l) merges with (2a) as 214, but 2b with nonsonorant initials merges with (3a) and (3b) as 51; (4) is distributed among 55, 35, 214, and 51 under complex conditions which we will not treat here.

		SCan	ZShan	Siyi	BJing
(1a)	'husband'	[fu 55]	[fu 55]	[fu 33]	[fu 55]
(1b)	'support'	[fu 31]	[fu 51]	[fu 22]	[fu 35]
(2a)	'prefecture'	[fu 35]	[fu 13]	[fu 55]	[fu 214]
(2b)	'mother'	[mou 23]	[mu 13]	[mu 31]	[mu 214]
(2b)	'woman'	[fu 23]	[fu 13]	[fu 31]	[fu 51]
(3a)	'wealth'	[fu 33]	[fu 22]	[fu 33]	[fu 51]
(3b)	'append'	[fu 22]	[fu 22]	[fu 42]	[fu 51]
(4a hi)	'sudden'	[fat 55]	[fat 55]	[fut 55]	[xu 55]
(4a mid)	'law'	[fa:t 33]	[fa:t 22]	[fat 33]	[fa 214]
(4b)	'Buddha'	[fat 22]	[fat 22]	[fut 42]	[fo 35]

MORPHOLOGY

Briefly, by morphology we mean the formation of words via (1) prefixation, suffixation, or inflection of root morphemes, (2) juxtaposition of two or more root morphemes, or (3) simultaneous application of (1) and (2). Indo-European languages such as English, German, French, Spanish, and others show more or less extensive inflection of verb roots to indicate person, number, tense, and aspect; and of noun roots to indicate number, gender, and case. Prefixation, suffixation, and juxtaposition are also common processes. Chinese dialects, on the other hand, only infrequently inflect verb and noun roots to indicate person, number, gender, etc. Rather, in many Chinese dialects, tonal and segmental inflection has the special function of marking a given morpheme or morpheme sequence as a complete word, as opposed to part of a word. Suffixation, also common in Chinese, may in certain cases have only this special word-marking function. Juxtaposition usually creates complete words, and is sometimes accompanied by tonal inflection as well.

In the following discussion, we shall examine the processes of inflection, suffixation, and juxtaposition as they apply to noun formation in Yue dialects and BJing.

BJing Noun Formation

Two general processes directly relevant to noun formation in BJing include tone neutralization and morpheme suffixation.

Tone Neutralization. In BJing, most morphemes when pronounced in isolation show one of the four BJing tonal contours 55, 35, 214, or 51. The situation is different, however, where two or more morphemes are linked to form semantic and syntactic compounds. Often the first morpheme within a given compound is stressed, and retains its original tone, whereas some or all of the remaining morphemes are destressed, and become tonally neutral. Regardless of the original tone, the tonal contour of a destressed, or neutral-tone morpheme is determined solely by its surrounding tonal environment (phonetic characteristics of neutral tone syllables will not be discussed in detail here).

In some compounds, the non-initial morpheme obligatorily receives a neutral tone, e.g. ren 'man' + jia 'family' — renjia 'people'; shui 'water' + shou 'hand' — shuishou 'sailor'. In other compounds, the non-initial morpheme may or may not receive a neutral tone. The result may then be two compounds with separate meanings, as shown in Chart 2 below.

Chart 2
Full-Tone and Neutral-Tone Compounds in BJing

COMPONENT MORPHEMES	FULL-TONE COMPOUND	NEUTRAL-TONE COMPOUND
dōng 'east' + xī 'west'	dōngxī 'east & west'	dongxi 'thing'
shēng 'life' + huó 'alive'	shēnghuó 'life'	shēnghuo 'livelihood'
shì 'be so' + fēi 'not be so'	shìfēi 'right or wrong'	shìfei 'gossip'
lā 'pull,drag' + shǒu 'hand'	lāshǒu 'take by the hand'	lāshou 'door knob'
xiōng 'older brother' + dì 'YBr'	xiōngdì 'brothers'	xiōngdi 'YBr'
lǎo 'old' + gōng 'sir'	lǎogōng 'old gentleman'	lǎogong 'crow'
yuán 'prime' + xiāo 'night'	yuánxiāo 'first full moon of lunar year'	yuánxiao 'dumplings eaten on that date'
huǒ 'fire' + shāo 'burn'	huǒshāo 'to burn'	huǒshao 'baked wheatcake'
bǎi 'display' + shè 'equipment'	bǎishè 'to furnish'	baishe 'furnishings'

Morpheme Suffixation. In BJing, the suffixes zi and er combine extensively with noun, verb, and adjective roots to create new noun forms, sometimes with a shift or specialization vis-a-vis the original meaning of the root. By themselves, suffix zi and er have no intrinsic meaning; suffix zi is always neutral-tone, while suffix er always merges with the root syllable to form a new syllable, with no effect on the original root tone. The crucial point is that many of the root morphemes are bound; although they are in some sense meaningful, they cannot themselves constitute whole words, and occur only in compounds, cf. English cran- in cranberry, -struct in construct, destruct, structure. The suffixed forms, on the other hand, are usually free; they are words in their own right, and may themselves occur in even longer compounds.

In Chart 3 below, (bf) marks a root morpheme which is bound in the particular sense given; for instance the morpheme huang as an adjective meaning 'yellow' is free, but huang as a noun meaning 'yellow part' is bound. Root morphemes not marked (bf) can be assumed to be free.

Chart 3
Nouns with Suffix-er and -zi in BJing

ROOT FORM	SUFFIXED FORM
táo (bf) 'peach'	táozi 'peach'
huáng 'yellow' (adj)	huángr 'yolk'
(bf) 'yellow part'	
běn 'volume' (of book)	běnzi 'notebook'
(bf) 'notebook'	
shū 'to comb'	shūzi 'a comb'
fáng (bf) 'room, house'	fángzi 'house'
léng 'cold'	léngzi 'sleet'
bāo 'to wrap'	bāozi 'dumpling'
(bf) 'package, dumpling'	bāor 'package'
kòng 'vacant'	kòngr 'leisure'
	kòngzi 'empty space, blank'
wèi (bf) 'taste, smell' (n)	wèr 'taste, smell'
fāng 'square' (adj)	fāngr 'a square'
(bf) 'prescription, recipe'	fāngzi 'drug prescription'
pèn 'emit odor'	pèr 'season' (of seasonal fruits, vegetables); 'crop, growth' (referring to crops harvested more than more than once a year)
mào 'hat' (bf)	màozi 'hat'
pí 'skin, peel' (bf)	pír 'peel of fruit'
chuí 'hammer' (bf)	chuízi 'hammer'
shéng 'rope' (bf)	shéngzi 'rope'

Noun Formation in Yue Dialects

In Yue dialects, the morphemes corresponding historically to BJing zi and er seldom appear as noun suffixes. Likewise, tone neutralization is not a significant feature of Yue dialects, and in any case does not play an obvious role in noun formation. Instead, the single most prominent process signalling noun formation involves tone change. For SCan, this means that root morphemes with the tonal contours 31, 22, 33, and 23 frequently undergo a shift to the mid-rising tone 35; whereas in Siyi, all tones except 55 may receive a rising inflection: 31 — 314, 22 — 224, 33 — 335, 42 — 424. As in the case of BJing, the resultant changed-tone forms are free in SCan and Siyi, even if the root morpheme is bound. Consider the following examples:

Chart 4

Nouns with Rising Changed Tone in SCan and Siyi

SCan:

ROOT FORM	CHANGED TONE FORM
daahn 'egg' (bf)	gaidáan 'chicken egg'
tohng 'sugar'	tóng 'candy'
mouh 'hat' (bf)	móu 'hat'
touh 'peach' (bf)	tóu 'peach'
sihng 'rope' (bf)	síng 'rope'
choeih 'hammer' (bf)	chóei 'hammer'
luhngngáahn 'eye of the dragon'	luhngngáan 'dragon's eye' (kind of fruit)
màhn 'mosquito' (bf)	máhn 'mosquito'
bouh 'notebook' (bf)	bóu 'notebook'
nihn 'year' (as in 'one year, two years ...')	kamnin 'this year'
yàhn 'person' (as in 'one person, two people,...')	yáhn 'guy' (informal reference)
neuih 'woman' (bf)	néuiyán 'female, woman'
	neui 'girl, daughter'
aap 'duck'	siuaap 'roast duck'
chaahk 'thief' (bf)	cháak 'thief'

Siyi (phonetic transcription):

[an 42] (bf) 'egg'	[an 424] 'egg'
[hon 22] 'sugar'	[hon 224] 'candy'
[kui 33] 'to saw'	[kui 335] 'a saw'
[nut 31] 'month' (as in 'one month, two months')	[nut 314] 'moon'
[hok 42] 'to learn'	[tʃuŋ 33 hok 424] 'high school'
[jiu 31] 'friend' (bf)	[ʃi 33 jiu 314] 'schoolmate'
[t e 33] 'to shelter'	[tʃ e 335] 'umbrella'
[t 'u 22] 'to hoe'	[tʃ'u 224] 'a hoe'
[wa 42] 'to speak, say'	[iŋ 42 wa 424] 'telephone'

Another type of tone change in Siyi nouns involves the falling tone shift 331 — 31. Among other things, this appears to signal plurality in personal pronouns:

Chart 5

Nouns with Falling Tone Shift in Siyi

(phonetic transcription)

SINGULAR	PLURAL
'I' [noi 33]	'we' [noi 31]
'you' [ni 33]	'you' [nek 31]
'he, she, it' [k'ui 33]	'they' [k'ek 31]

Also:

ROOT FORM	CHANGED TONE FORM
[ʃeu 33] 'to roast'	[tʃa 33 ʃeu 31] 'roast pork'
[p'ak 33] 'to clap, slap'	[k'iu 22 p'ak 31] 'a racket' (for ping-pong, tennis, etc.)
[tʃ'in 33] 'to weigh'	[tʃ'in 31] 'a scale'

In Siyi also, the last syllable of a noun in a locative expression regularly undergoes the rising tone change regardless of whether the noun undergoes a tone change in other environments (see Chart 16 below). This occurrence of tone change in locative expressions is not a feature of SCan.

Chart 16
Tone Shift on Siyi Locative Expressions

USUAL FORM	IN LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS
[hiŋ 33] 'sky'	[o33 hiŋ 335] at sky [in the sky]
[hiŋ 22] 'field'	[o33 hiŋ 224] at field [in the field]
[ʃi 33] 'book'	[o33 ʃi 335 jip 42 piŋ 42] at book inside [inside the book]
[t'eŋ 22] 'wall'	[o33 t'eŋ 224 seŋ 42 piŋ 42] at wall on [on the wall]

Finally, note that in ZShan tone change never accompanies noun formation as in SCan and Siyi. For example, compare SCan gāi 'chicken' + daahn 'egg' —— gāidáan 'chicken egg' (with tone change) vs. ZShan [kai 55] 'chicken' + [taan 22] 'egg' —— [kai 55 taan 22] 'chicken egg' (no tone change).

SYNTAX

General Syntactic Characteristics

Before we discuss the comparative syntax of Yue dialects and BJing, we wish to review two major syntactic characteristics of Chinese which differ from Indo-European languages such as English, German, French, Spanish, and others.

Noun Quantification. In Indo-European languages, quantifiable nouns fall into two categories, count and mass, which differ in their grammatical behavior. Count nouns (e.g., 'chair' and 'orange') are typically quantified 'one by one'; thus, 'one chair', 'three oranges'. On the other hand, mass nouns (e.g., 'bread', 'oil') require a separate quantifier, i.e., a count noun that can quantify something else (e.g., 'loaf', 'slice', 'quart'), thus, 'two slices of bread', 'three quarts of oil'. In Chinese, there is no grammatical distinction 'count' vs. 'mass' for

quantifiable nouns. Rather, all such nouns require a separate quantifier. Consider the following examples from SCan:

(a) sāām tiùh yú [three fish]
three fish

(b) yāt jeūn yaùh [one bottle of oil]
one bottle oil

In (b), the quantifier jeun, literally 'bottle,' functions as does 'bottle' in English, while in (a), the quantifier tiùh, literally 'strip, rod', has no functional English equivalent; sāām tiùh yú does not mean 'three strips of fish', but rather 'three fish'. Nonetheless, from the standpoint of Chinese syntax, (a) and (b) are structurally identical: both show the sequence number, quantifier, and quantified noun.

Sentence Final Particles. One syntactic feature common to all Chinese dialects is the use of sentence final particles (SFP) to modify the meaning of a given sentence as a whole. If we take as the neutral case a sentence without any SFP, addition of an SFP will specifically mark the sentence as a question, or exclamation, suggestion, or expression of disbelief. Consider the following examples from SCan:

(1) Kéuih heui Bākgīng He's going to Beijing
he go Beijing

(2) Kéuih heui Bākgīng ne? He's going to Beijing?

(3) Kéuih heui Bākgīng ma? Is he going to Beijing?

(4) Kéuih heui Bākgīng me? Do you mean to say he's going to Beijing?

(5) Keúih heui Bākgīng la! He's going to Beijing!

(6) Keúih heui Bākging a! He's going to Beijing, I tell you!

(7) Kéuih heui Bakging gwa. He's probably going to Beijing.

Sentence (1), the neutral case, is a plain declarative; in (2), addition of the particle ne signals a resumptive interrogative; in (3), ma signals a plain interrogative; in (4), me expresses the speaker's disbelief; in (5), la signals a new situation; in (6) a expresses the speaker's insistence; in (7), gwa connotes probability. While the inventory and semantic range of SFPs vary from dialect to dialect, the basic function of SFPs across dialects remains the same. Interestingly, in Indo-European languages, there is no single syntactic feature that carries the same general function as the Chinese SFP. Rather, sentential meaning in Indo-European is typically modified through use of modals, sentence adverbials, shift in word order, and intonation (a pitch pattern characteristic of the sentence as a whole). As an illustration of this last, consider the following examples from American English:

(8) He's going to Beijing. neutral (statement of fact, cf. SCan(1) above).

(9) He's going to Beijing? (resumptive interrogative, cf. SCan(2) above).

(10) He's going to Beijing? (disbelief, cf. SCan(4) above).

In general, American English shows a final falling contour in statements vs. a final rising contour in 'yes-no' questions. Interestingly, while the contrastive use of tone at the morpheme level is highly developed in Chinese dialects, such use of tone at the sentence level (i.e.,

intonation) is virtually absent in Chinese. From a comparative standpoint, then, Chinese SFPs and English intonation appear to be mutually exclusive syntactic features.

Comparative Syntax

In the following sections, we will discuss a few of the major syntactic differences between the Yue dialects and BJing. In all cases, SCan data is used to represent Yue, since there are only minor differences among Yue dialects vis a vis the points examined here.

Quantified Noun Phrases. In BJing, a noun phrase containing a quantifier normally takes the following form:

$$\{(\text{DEM})(\text{NUM})\}\ \text{Q}\ \ \text{N}$$

where DEM stands for the demonstrative adjectives zhe 'this' and na 'that'; NUM stands for any numeral, e.g., san 'three'; Q stands for any quantifier, e.g., ben 'quantifier for books'; and N for any quantifiable noun. The above formula specifies that at least DEM or NUM, or both DEM and NUM, precede Q N, thus:

(1) BJing: (a) nà bén shū
that Q book
[that book]

(b) nà sān bén shū
that three Q book
[those three books]

(c) sān bén shū
three Q book
[three books]

Note that in (a), where NUM does not appear, it is assumed to be 'one'. There are relatively few exceptions to the above formula, cf. the quantifier gè in constructions with the existential verb yǒu, as in:

(d) yǒu gè rén zài lóushang
there be Q person at upstairs
[there is someone upstairs]

where the omission of NUM again implies 'one'.

In Yue dialects, the corresponding formula for quantified noun phrases is

$$(\text{DEM})(\text{NUM})\ \ \text{Q}\ \ \text{N}$$

i.e., either DEM or NUM, both DEM and NUM, or neither DEM or NUM may precede Q N.

(2) SCan (a) gó bún syū
that Q book
[that book]

(b) sāām bun syū
three Q book
[three books]

(c) gó sāām bún syū

that three Q book
[those three books]

(d) bún syū
Q book
[the book]

Note that in Yue dialects, the use of Q alone with N, as in (d), regularly signals that N is definite. This contrasts with the situation in BJing where, as we saw above, Q alone with N is highly restricted, and in any case cannot signal definiteness. Rather, definiteness in BJing tends to be expressed indirectly via use of the DEM na, or via use of the noun alone in certain contructions, e.g., shu zai loushang 'the book(s) is/are upstairs'.

Possessive Noun Phrases and Relativization. In both BJing and Yue, pronominal possession with kinship head nouns takes the following form:

$$PRO\ N_{KIN}$$

where PRO is any personal pronoun, and N_{KIN} is any kinship noun, e.g.,

(1) (a) BJing: wǒ mǔqin
I mother
[my mother]

(b) SCan: ngó louhmóu
I mother
[my mother]

With other types of possessed noun, the simplest form for pronominal and nonpronominal possession is as follows:

BJing: $\left\{\begin{matrix} N \\ PRO \end{matrix}\right\}$ de N

SCan: $\left\{\begin{matrix} N \\ PRO \end{matrix}\right\}$ Q N

where the first N or PRO is the possessor, and the second N is the possessed noun. In BJing, the possessed N is preceded by de, a relativizing particle, whereas in SCan, the possessed N is instead preceded by the appropriate quantifier, e.g.,

(2) (a) BJing: wǒ de shǔ
I book
[my book]

(b) BJing: Wáng Xiānsheng de shū
Wang Mr. book
[Mr. Wang's book]

(c) SCan: ngó bún syu
I Q book
[my book]

(d) SCan: Wòhng sīnsāng bún sȳu
Wong Mr. Q book
[Mr. Wong's book]

Possessive noun phrases and relativized noun phrases show a number of important structural similarities across Chinese dialects. One common type of relativized noun phrase in BJing can be expressed as

$$\begin{cases} (a)\ N_{SUBJ}\ V \\ (b)\ V\ N_{OBJ} \end{cases} \quad de \quad DEM \quad Q \quad N_{HEAD}$$

(3) BJing: (a) wǒ kànjian de nà ge rén
I see that Q man
[the man whom I saw]

(b) kànjian wǒ de nà ge rén
see I that Q man
[the man who saw me]

where 3(a) and 3(b) correspond in structure to parts (a) and (b), respectively, in the above formula. In SCan, the corresponding formula is:

$$\begin{cases} (a)\ N_{SUBJ}\ V \\ (b)\ V\ N_{OBJ} \end{cases} \quad DEM\ Q \quad N_{HEAD}$$

(4) SCan: (a) ngó taígin gó go yàhn
I see that Q man
[the man whom I saw]

(b) taígin ngó gó go yàhn
see I that Q man
[the man who saw me]

Note that (4a) is ambiguous in SCan; in the appropriate context, it can also mean, 'I saw that man'.

Ordering of Verb, Post-Verbal Complement, and Definite Direct Object. In BJing, where a sentence contains a definite direct object, the ba construction is frequently used to place the verb and/or post-verbal complement in focus, Note the following formula:

$$N_{SUBJ}\ ba\ N_{OBJ}\ V\ (COMP)$$

Here, N_{SUBJ} is the subject noun phrase, ba is a grammatical particle, NOBJ is the definite object noun phrase, V is the verb, and (COMP) is the post-verbal complement; V (COMP) always follows NOBJ.

(1) BJing: (a) tā bǎ shū fàng zài zhuōzi shang.
he book put at table on
[He put the book on the table] (where zai zhuozi shang is COMP)

(b) tā bá shū kàn wán le
he book look at finish perfective asp.
[He finished reading the book] (where wan le is COMP)

In Yue dialects, the nearest corresponding formula is:

$$N_{SUBJ}\ V \begin{cases} (a)\ Q\ N_{OBJ}\ COMP_N \\ (b)\ COMP\ Q\ N_{OBJ} \end{cases}$$

In contrast to BJing, Yue dialects do not use the ba construction. Rather, both N_{OBJ} and COMP follow the verb; N_{OBJ} precedes COMP where COMP contains a noun; otherwise, COMP precedes N_{OBJ}.

(1) SCan:
(a) keúih jāi jo bún syū hai tói seuhngbihn
he put perf.asp Q book at table on
[he put the book on the table] (where hai toi seungbihn is COMP)
(b) keúih tái yùhn jo bún syū
he look at finish perf. asp. Q book
[he finished reading the book] (where yùhn jo is COMP)

Use of Aspectual Particles. Aspectual particles in Chinese indicate the temporal status of the verb or the sentence as a whole.

In BJing, the positive perfective aspect (PRF) le, a verbal suffix, is homophonous with the change of state (COS) aspect le, a sentence final particle. Where the verb is not at the end of the sentence, the following sentence types are possible:

(1) BJing: (a) tā hē le sān wǎn tāng
he drink PR three bowl soup
[He drank three bowls of soup]

(b) tā hē le sān wǎn tāng le
he drink PRF three bowl soup COS
[He has drunk three bowls of soup]

(c) tā hē tāng le
he drink soup COS
[He's drinking soup (now)]

Note that use of PRF alone as in (a) implies simple completion; use of PRF together with COS, as in (b), implies that the completed act is still relevant in the present ('three bowls of soup so far; he may drink more'). Where COS occurs by itself, as in (c), present relevance is indicated without any reference to completion of an act ('he wasn't drinking soup before, but he is now').

Where the verb is sentence final in BJing, and both COS and PRF are called for, the two aspectual particles merge as a single syllable le. An utterance such as (1d) is thus ambiguous, since sentence final le can represent PRF, COS, or PRF + COS:

(1) BJing: (d) tā zǒu le [He left] (PRF le)
he leave [He has left] (PRF + COS le)
[He's leaving (now)] (COS le)

In SCan, PRF is jo, while COS is lo. Corresponding to (1a-c) in BJing, then, we have the following in SCan:

(2) SCan: (a) kéuih yáhm jo sāām wún tōng
he drink PRF three bowl soup
[He drank three bowls of soup]

(b) kéuih yáhm jo sāām wún tōng lo
he drink PRF three bowl soup COS
[He has drunk three bowl of soup]

(c) kéuih yáhm tōng lo
he dring soup COS
[He's drinking soup now]

Note that since PRF and COS are not homophonous, SCan shows three different forms corresponding to BJing (1d):

(d) kéuih jáu jo
he leave PRF
[He left]

(e) kéuih jáu jo lo
he leave PRF COS
[He has left]

(f) kéuih jáu lo
he leave COS
[He's leaving (now)]

To show negative PRF, Bjing uses preverbal mei or meiyou; SCan uses preverbal mouh.

(3a) BJing: tā méi(you) zǒu
he neg PRF leave
[He didn't leave]

(3b) SCan: kéuih móuh jáu
he neg PRF leave
[He didn't leave]

Where the negative of PRF together with COS is called for, BJing often adds the adverb hái 'still, yet', whereas SCan uses a special adverb meih, not related to BJing mei:

(4a) BJing: tā hái méi(you) zǒu
he yet neg PRF leave
[He hasn't left yet]

(4b) SCan: keuih mei jáu
he leave
[He hasn't left yet]

Comparative Constructions. In SCan, the following basic formula holds for positive comparisons between nouns:

SCan: N_X (V dak) Adj gwo N_Y

Here N_X and N_Y are the nouns compared; N_X has some quality which is greater than N_Y; V dāk (Adj) is an optional element, V being an activity referred to by Adj, and dāk a complementizing particle; and gwo is a verb literally meaning 'to pass', e.g.,

(1) SCan: (a) ngóo faai gwo kéuih
I fast he
[I am faster than he is]

(b) ngóo sé dāk faai gwo kéuih
I write fast he
[I write faster than he does]

In BJing, the corresponding formula for positive comparisons is

BJing: N_X bǐ N_Y (V de) Adj

where N_X, N_Y, V, and Adj are defined as in the SCan formula above; BJing de corresponds to SCan dāk, and BJing bǐ (literally, 'to compare') occurs in place of SCan gwo, e.g.

(2) BJing: (a) wǒ bǐ tā kuài
I he fast
[I am faster than he is]

(b) wǒ bǐ tā xiě de kuài
I he write fast
[I write faster than he does]

For negative comparisons, SCan uses the following formula:

SCan: N_X móuh N_Y (V dāk) gam Adj

where mouh means 'not have' and gam, 'that (much)' e.g.

(3) SCan: (a) ngóh móuh kéuih gam faai
I he fast
[I am not as fast as he is]

(b) ngóh móuh kéuih sé dāk gam faai
I he write fast
[I do not write as fast as he does]

In BJing, the corresponding formula for negative comparisons is

N_X méi(you) N_Y (V de)(nème) Adj

where BJing méi(you) 'not have' corresponds to SCan móuh and BJing nème to SCan gam. Note that BJing speakers can use either méi or méiyou, and retain or omit nème, with no effect on the meaning of the comparative sentence.

(4) BJing: (a) wǒ méi(you) tā (nème) kuài
I he fast
[I am not as fast as he is]

(b) wǒ méi(you) tā xiě de (nème) kuài
I he write fast
[I do not write as fast as he does]

Ordering of Direct and Indirect Objects. In SCan, the indirect object always follows the direct object:

(1) SCan: Subj V DirObj (Prep) IndObj

where Prep is an optional preposition, e.g.,

(2) SCan: (a) ngóo sung sei go bāau keúih
I send four Q dumpling he
[I'm sending him four dumplings]

(b) ngóoh sung sei go bāau béi keúih
I send four Q dumpling to he
[I'm sending him four dumplings]

but not *(c) ngóoh sung keúih sei go bāau
Subj V IndObj Num Q DirObj

*(d) ngóoh béi keúih sung sei go bāau
Subj Prep IndObj V Num Q DirObj

*(e) ngóoh sung béi keúih sei go bāau
Subj V Prep IndObj Num Q DirObj

In BJing, the following orderings are possible:

(3) BJing: (a) Subj V (Prep) IndObj DirObj
(b) Subj Prep IndObj V DirObj
(c) Subj V DirObj Prep IndObj

e.g.,

(4) BJing: (a) wǒ sòng gei ta sì ge bāuzi
I send to he four dumpling

(b) wǒ sòng ta sì ge bāuzi
I send he four dumpling

(c) wǒ gěi ta sòng sì ge bāuzi
I to he send four dumpling

(d) wǒ sòng sì ge bāuzi gei tā
I send four dumpling to he
[I'm sending him four dumplings]

but not: (e) wo song si ge bauzi ta

Note that in BJing, Prep must precede IndObj if DirObj precedes IndObj (cf. (3c), (4d)). Such a sentence type is not acceptable without Prep in BJing (cf. (4e)), but is acceptable in SCan (cf. SCan (1)). On the other hand, BJing sentence types (3a) and (3b), illustrated in (4a-d), show the IndObj preceding the DirObj, and are thus not acceptable in SCan (cf. (2c-e)).

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

Cognates and Noncognates

The following word list, based on Hanyu Fangyan Cihui (1964), compares a wide range of common vocabulary items in SCan and BJing

across various semantic categories. Within each category, we will refer to items listed under (a) as cognate, i.e., similar in meaning and historically related in SCan and BJing. We will refer to items listed under (b) as noncognate, i.e., similar in meaning but not historically related in SCan and BJing. For instance, SCan yiht and BJing rè, both meaning 'hot', derive historically from the same morpheme, written , pronounced [ŋziat] in Middle Chinese (ca. 7th century A.D.). Thus, SCan yiht and BJing rè are said to be cognate. On the other hand, SCan tái and BJing kàn, both now meaning 'to look at', derive historically from the unrelated morphemes [ʿt'iaj] 'to glance at' and [k'anˀ] 'to watch, guard' in Middle Chinese. Thus, SCan tái and BJing kàn are said to be noncognate.

The issue of semantic relatedness between any two languages or dialects is a highly complex matter, and we hasten to point out that the above cognate/noncognate typology is an oversimplification. Most importantly we must note that the majority of items listed as non-cognate actually have historically related partners in SCan or BJing, but with a shift in meaning or free/bound morphemic status. We will call these items partial cognates; they participate in the following relationships, among others:

(a) Semantic chains. A set of cognate morphemes shows a stepwise shift in meaning between SCan and BJing, e.g.

	SCan	BJing
(1)	síu 'small' (bf)	xiǎo 'small'
(2)	sái 'small'	xì 'thin, fine'
(3)	yāu 'thin, fine'	yòu 'juvenile' (bf)

Note that the same cognate morpheme (1) means 'small' in both SCan and BJing, except that the SCan form is bound and occurs only in compounds, e.g. siúhohk 'primary school'. Likewise, the same cognate morpheme (2) is the usual word for 'small' in SCan, but means 'thin, fine' in BJing; (3) means 'thin, fine' in SCan, but 'juvenile' in BJing. Again, (3) in BJing is bound and normally occurs only in compounds, e.g., younian 'youth' (vs. 'old age').

(b) Partial Overlap. This situation is similar to (a), but with overlap in the range of meanings for a given cognate morpheme, e.g.,

	SCan	BJing
(1)	páau 'run race' (bf)	pǎo 'run, race'
(2)	jau 'run leave'	zǒu 'go, leave'
(3)	hàahng 'go'	xíng 'go' (bf)

Note that the same cognate morpheme (2) can mean 'leave' in both SCan and BJing; in addition, (2) is the usual word for 'run' in SCan, and for 'go' in BJing. Likewise, (1) is the usual word for 'run, race' in BJing, occurring in SCan primarily as a bound form, e.g., páaumáh 'to race horses'; (3) is the usual word for 'go' in SCan, occurring with that meaning only as a bound form.

(c) Many-to-one. A set of meanings is expressed with two or more different morphemes in BJing, a single morpheme in SCan (or vice versa), e.g.,

BJing		SCan
(1)	ní 'mud'	nàih 'mud, earth, soil'
(2)	tǔ 'earth, soil'	tóu 'earth' (bf)

Note that BJing preserves a semantic distinction between (1) and (2) tracing back to Middle Chinese; SCan (1), historically related to BJing

(1), has assumed some meanings originally associated with BJing (2); SCan (2), historically related to BJing (2), occurs primarily bound in compounds, e.g., tóusāang 'local, native'.

(d) True noncognates. For some of the SCan morphemes listed in the noncognate sections, there are no cognate morphemes in common use in BJing, or else the semantic relationship is extremely distant or dubious for the meaning in question. The same is true for some BJing morphemes vis-a-vis SCan. These true noncognates are tagged with an asterisk (*) in the word list. Such a noncognate relationship may be unidirectional or mutual, depending on the vocabulary item. As an example of the first type, consider the item 'tongue', SCan leih, BJing shétou. Note that BJing shé 'tongue' (bf) occurs in compounds such as shéjiān 'tongue tip', which corresponds historically and semantically to SCan sitgān 'tongue tip'. For SCan leih, on the other hand, there is no historically related morpheme in BJing, even with a different meaning. The second type is seen in the item 'thing', here, SCan yéh is not related to any morpheme in BJing, while BJing dongxi cannot be correlated with any morpheme(s) meaning 'thing' in SCan.

Finally, vocabulary items which are created from more than one morpheme are starred if at least one morpheme is completely non-cognate; cf. SCan tingyaht 'tomorrow', kahmyaht or chahmyaht 'yesterday', where ting, kahm, and chahm are not related to any morpheme in BJing, although SCan yaht 'day, sun' (bf) corresponds historically to BJing rì 'day, sun' (bf).

Word List

Function Words (pronouns, interrogatives, etc.).

(a) COGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'I'	wo	ngo
'you'	ni	neih
'self'	ziji	jihgei
'to have', 'there be'	you	yauh
'again'	you	yauh

(b) NONCOGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'he, she, it'	ta	*keuih
'this'	*zhe	*ni
'that'	*na	*go
'which'	*naige	*bingo
'what'	*sheme	*matyeh
'when'	*sheme shihou	geisih
'how many'	jige	geido
'how long'	duo jiou	*geinoi
'to be'	*shi	haih
'be at'	zai	hai
personal pronoun pluralizer	*men	*deih
'no, not'	bu	*m
'not have'	*meiyou	*mouh
'not yet'	*hai mei	mei
'now'	xianzai	*yihga
'before, formerly'	congqian	gauhsi
'often'	changchang	sihsih
'immediately'	mashang	jikhaak
'all'	*dou	*saai
'very'	(*)hen	hou
dem pron. pluralizer	*xie	*di
'completely'	tongtong	*haahm ba laahng or haahm plaahng
'thing'	*dongxi	*yeh

Physical Environment

(a) COGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'fog'	wu	mouh
'thunder'	lei	leuih
'ocean'	hai	hoi
'rock'	shitou	sehktau
'star'	xing	sing
'sky'	tian	tin
'rain'	yu	yuh

(b) NONCOGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'sun'	taiyang	yihttau
'moon'	yueliang	yuhtgwong
'weather'	tianqi	tinhei

Time

(a) COGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'year after next'	hounian	hauhnin
'year before last'	qiannian	chihnnin
'this year'	jinnian	gamnin

(b) NONCOGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'today'	jintian	gamyaht
'tomorrow'	mingtian	tingyaht
'yesterday'	zuotian	kahmyaht or chahmyaht
'last year'	qunian	gauhnin or seuhngnin
'next year'	mingniau	cheutnin or hahnin
'daytime'	baitian	yahttau
'night time'	yeli	yehmaahnhak
'morning'	zaoshang	chiujou
'noon'	zhongwu	aanjau
'afternoon'	xiawu	hahjau

Plants and Animals.

(a) COGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'tiger'	laohu	louhfu
'goose'	e	ngoh
'honey bee'	mifeng	mahtfung
'butterfly'	hudie	wuhdip
'dog'	gou	gau
'duck'	yazi	aap
'deer'	lu	luk
'shrimp'	xia	ha
'snake'	she	seh
'cow'	niou	ngauh
'sheep'	yang	yeuhng
'cotton'	mianhua	mihnfa
'peanut'	huasheng	fasang
'onion'	cong	chung
'garlic'	suan	syun
'ginger'	jiang	geung
'hot pepper'	lajiao	laahtjiu

'banana'	xiangjiao	heungjiu
'watermelon'	xigua	saigwa
'cucumber'	huanggua	wohnggwa
'lichee'	lizhi	laihji

(b) NONCOGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'water chestnut'	biqi	mahtai
'egg plant'	qiezi	aigwa
'corn (maize)'	yumi	sukmai
'pumpkin'	nangua	gamgwa
'grapefruit'	youzi	lukyau
'sweet potato'	baishu	faansyu
'monkey'	houzi	mahlau
'elephant'	xiang	daaihbanjeung
'spider'	zhizhu	kahmlou
'centipede'	wugong	baakjuk

Foods, Cooking, Household.

(a) COGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'vinegar'	cu	chouh
'sugar'	tang	tohng
'tea'	cha	chah
'rice (cooked)'	fan	faahn
'dumplings'	jiaozi	kaauji
'wonton'	huntun	wahntan
'cleaver'	caidao	choihdou
'lock'	suo	so
'axe'	futou	futau
'saw'	juzi	keu
'hammer'	chuizi	cheui
'hoe'	chu tou	chohtau
'bed'	chuang	chohng
'pillow'	zhentou	jamtauh
'stairs'	louti	lauhtai

(b) NONCOGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'rice gruel'	xifan	juk
'soy sauce'	jiangyou	sihyauh
'honey'	fengmi	mahttong
'vegetarian foods'	sucai	jaichoi
'pig's tongue'	koutiaor	*jyuleih
'ingredients'	zuoliao	puiliu
'boiling water'	kaishui	gunseui
'breakfast'	zaofan	jouchaan
'lunch'	zhongfan	*gaanjauh
'bottle'	pingzi	jeun
'key'	yaoshi	sosih

'umbrella'	san	je
'house'	fangzi	ukkei
'room'	uzi	fohngaan
'table'	zhuozi	toi
'whistle'	shaozi	gai

Clothing.

(a) COGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'dress'	qunzi	kwahn
'stockings'	wazi	maht
'shoes'	xie	hai
'boots'	xuezi	heu
'hat'	maozi mou	
'pants'	kuzi	fu

(b) NONCOGNATES

'sweater'	mauyi	laangsaam
'coat'	dayi	daaihlau
'undershirt'	hanshan	daisaam

Human Types and Relationships. (Note: DR = direct reference, used when addressing a person; IR = indirect reference, used when referring to a person.)

(a) COGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'grandson'	sunzi	syun
'father' (DR)	baba	bahba
'mother' (DR)	mama	mahma
'other's older sister'	gu ma	guma
'older brother' (DR)	gege	gohgo
'older sister' (DR)	jiejie	jehje
'younger sister'	meimei	muihmui

(b) NONCOGNATES

'old man'	laotour	baakyegung
'old woman'	laopor	baakyepoh
'bachelor'	danshenhan	gwalou
'bald person'	tuzi	gwongtauhlou
'crazy person'	fengzi	dinlou
'petty thief'	xiautour	syumo
'twins'	shuangshengzi	masang
'child'	xiauhaizi	sammanjai
'husband'	zhangfu	louhgung
'wife'	xifur	louhpoh
'son'	erzi	jai
'daughter'	nuer	neui
'father' (IR)	fuqin	louhdauh
'mother' (IR)	muqin	louhmou
'younger brother' (IR)	didi	sailou

'older brother' (IR)	gege	daaihlou
'older sister' (IR)	jiejie	gaje

Body Parts

(a) COGNATES

'hair'	toufa	tauhfaat
'mouth'	zui	jeui
'hand'	shou	sau
'finger'	shouzhi	sauji
'foot'jiau	geuk	
'liver'	gan	gon
'heart'	xin	sam

(b) NONCOGNATES

'tongue'	shetou	*leih
'thumb'	damuzhi	saujigung
'thigh'	datui	daaihbei
'arm'	gebei saubei	
'kneecap'	*kexigar	sattauhgo
'face'	lian	mihn

Verbs

(a) COGNATES

	BJing	SCan
'ask'	wen	mahn
'listen'	ting	teng
'open'	kai	hoi
'close'	guan	gwaan
'bury'	mai	maaih
'wash'	xi	sai
'kill'	sha	saat
'learn'	xue	hohk
'remember'	jide	geidak
'more'	ban	bun
'blow'	chui	cheui
'laugh'	xiao	siu
'cry'	ku	huk
'bump'	peng	pung
'wrap'	bau	baau

(b) NONCOGNATES

'look at'	kan	tai
'eat'	chi	sihk
'drink'	he	yahm
'lie down'	tang	fan
'say'	shuo	gong
'mix'	ban	lou
'forget'	wangji	mhgeidak

'run'	pao	jau
'clean up'	shiduo	japsahp
'argue'	chaojia	ngaai gaau
'stand'	zhan	keih
'lean (on)'	kao	bahng
'throw'	reng	deng
'go'	zou	haahng
'select'	tiao	gaan
'look for'	zhao	wan

Adjectives. (Most common adjectives are cognate in SCan and BJing. Noncognates are marked with a star preceding the English gloss. True noncognates are marked, as before, with a star preceding the Chinese forms.)

	BJing	SCan
'big'	da	daaih
*'little'	xiau	sai
'high'	gao	gou
'low'	di	dai
'long'	chang	cheuhng
'short'	duan	dyun
'coarse'	cu	chou
*'fine'	xi	yau
'thick'	hou	hauh
'thin'	bau	bohk
'hard'	ying	ngaahng
'soft'	ruan	yuhn
'deep'	shen	sam
'shallow'	qian	chin
'light'	qing	heng
'heavy'	zhong	chuhng
'clean'	ganjing	jehng
*'dirty'	zang	wujou
'wet'	shi	sap
'dry'	gan	gon
'fast'	kuai	faai
'slow'	man	maahn
'hot'	re	yiht
'cold'	leng	laahng
*'easy'	rongyi	yih
'difficult'	nan	naahn
*'pretty'	*piaoliang	*leng
*'ugly'	chou	chaugwaai

NOTE ONE

Alphabetic Transcription (Romanization) of BJing and SCan

X.X BJing Romanization. The following transcription, known as Pinyin, has been officially adopted by the People's Republic of China.

INITIALS

b	p	m	f		(labials/labiodentals)
d	t	n		l	(alveolar non-affricates)
z	c		s		(alveolar affricates)
j	q		x		(pre-palatal affricates)
zh	ch		sh	r	(retroflex affricates)
g	k	ng	h		(velars)

FINALS

er	a	o	e	ai	ei	au	ou
i	ia		ie			iau	iou
u	ua	uo		uai	uei		
u			ue				
an	en	ang	eng	ong			
ian	in	iang	ing	iong			
uan	uen	uang	ueng				
uan	un						

TONES

ma (55) ma (neutral)
ma (35)
ma (214)
ma (51)

The above transcription is further modified in the case of certain combinations of initials and finals:

(a) when a syllable consists of a single segment i, u, or u are replaced by yi, wu, yu, respectively.

(b) otherwise, when i, u, and u begin a syllable, they are spelled y, w, yu, respectively; in, ing are replaced by yin, ying.

(c) when preceded by an initial consonant, iou, uei, uen are replaced by iu, ui, un.

(d) The diaresis is omitted from u everywhere except after initial i and n, e.g. xu, xue but nu, nue, lu, lue.

Note that i in zi, ci, si represents syllabic [z]; i in zhi, chi, shi, ri represents syllabic [z].

X.X SCan Romanization. While there is no official transcription system for SCan, one of the most commonly used transcriptions is Yale Romanization (Huang 1973).

INITIALS

b	p	m	f			(labials/labiodentals)
d	t	n		l		(alveolars)
j	ch		s		y	(alveo-palatals)
g	k	ng				(velars)
gw	kw				w	(labiovelars)
			h			(glottal)

FINALS

a	aai	aau	aam	aan	aang	aap	aat	aak
	ai	au	am	an	ang	ap	at	ak
e	ei				eng			ek
eu	eui			eun	eung		eut	euk
o	oi	ou		on	ong		ot	ok
i		iu	im	in	ing	ip	it	ik
u	ui			un	ung		ut	uk
y				yn			yt	
m	ng							

TONES

sī 55	si 33	si 35	sik 55	
sīh 31	sih 22	sih 23	sīk 33	sihk 22

Note that tones 31, 22, and 23 are spelled with an h as the last letter of the syllable, or as the next-to-last letter if the syllable ends in a consonant. Exceptions: [m 31] — m; [31] — ng; [23] — ng.

NOTE TWO

Comparative Word List For SCan, Siyi, and ZShan

While Yue dialects share a large proportion of vocabulary in common, there are a number of high-frequency vocabulary items which vary strikingly across dialects. A selection of such items will be found in the table below. The Siyi data were supplied personally by Jean Wong, who was also the Siyi language consultant for Cheng (1973). ZShan data are from Chao (1948). In the case of certain vocabulary items, data were available for SCan and Siyi, but not ZShan — hence the gaps in the ZShan data column.

		SCan	Siyi	ZShan
1.	'who'	bingo	[a 33 ui 314]	[min 55 ko 22]
2.	'which'	bingo	[nai 31 (ko 33)]	[min 55 ko 22]
3.	'where'	bindouh/binsyu	[nai 314]	[min 55 ts'y 22]
4.	'how'	dimyeung	[ki 55 ho 314]	[tim 13 joe 13]
5.	'why'	dimgaai	[ki 55 kai 55]	[tim 13 ka:i 13]
6.	'here'	hidouh	[k'oi 314]	[ni 22 ts'y 22]
7.	'there'	godouh	[ni 314]	[ko 22 ts'y 22]
8.	'that (much)'	gam	[k'oi 31]	[kam 22]
9.	dem. pluralizer	di	[nai 55]	[nai 55]
10.	'now'	yihga	[k'oi 31 i 314]	[ka 55 ha 22]
11.	'yesterday'	kahmyaht	[to 31 man 224]	
12.	'tomorrow'	tingyaht	[hi 42 to 55]	
13.	'be at'	hai	[o 33]	
14.	perf. aspect	jo	[e 33]	[hou 55]
15.	'eggplant'	aigwa	[k'e 314]	
16.	'bitter melon'	fugwa	[lak 55 kwa 214]	
17.	Q for 'trees'	fo	[au 33]	
18.	'ladder'	tai	[pa 42 k'i 314]	
19.	'to tear'	mit	[p'eu 55]	
20.	'to scratch'	gwat	[wa 55]	
21.	'cry (of children)	haahm	[k'eu 22 man 55]	
22.	'catch cold'	seuhng fung	[au 55 t ek 42]	
23.	'worry about'	sauh	[kw'a 33]	
24.	'to see'	tai	[hai 55]	[hon 22]
25.	'we'	ngodeih	[oi 31]	[o 13 ti 22]
26.	'you'	neideih	[nek 31]	[ni 13 ti 22]
27.	'they'	keuihdeih	[k'ek 31]	[k'y 51 ti 22]

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APPENDIX B

OBSERVATION FIELDNOTES OF A FIFTH-GRADE READING LESSON

11:10 Teacher (T) told Children (Cs) to get ready for the vocabulary test and sent the Rainbows (ESL) to the right reading table with V (observer). T called for E and pointed to the blackboard on which T had written under today's date:

ESL — Work with Miss Y (the researcher)
Images — Do SRA, turn in vocabulary
Kaleidoscope — Do SRA
Rewards — spelling test.

There was a lot of moving around and noise.
T is at the NEP table with Rewards group, about to give them a spelling test.

11:18 T asked H to move across the room to sit by T. H didn't move for a few minutes. He finally took his work to a desk near T.
T actually is giving M an individualized spelling test, while the Rewards group prepare themselves for the upcoming test. There is quite a lot of talking and looking around in the group.

11:25 T is now with the Rewards.
V is with the Rainbows (LEP), because the aide (TA) is absent today. LEP Cs use Chinese almost exclusively in this group. English is used only when reading the text. J is particularly active in the group.

11:35 T finished her testing of the Rewards. T is now going over the test papers. Cs from the group are up and about. Two stay close to T to see her grading their papers.
C and M are sitting together to work on their SRA. But they played with their toys when I happened to walk by. T and L were sitting together until I told L to go back to his own seat.
The Rainbows are very noisy with V. They don't seem to be able to sit still.

11:45 M is now back at his own seat. He gets up from time to time to visit. When at his desk, he does nothing but look into his desk.
T has been reading with S and two boys at the NEP table ever since she finished correcting their spelling tests. These three, perhaps, were identified to be weaker in spelling and, therefore, had to stay behind to work with T.
C had been moving around from seat to seat and talking to one girl after another. The girls whom she talked to were the ones in the highest reading group — the Images.

11:54 T moved from the NEP table to the front of the aisle between J's and M's columns on the right side of the room. T arranged the seating first, and had the Images group sit together in front of her. T explained in English all the terms on the Images' scoring sheet.
The Rainbows (with observer) were far too noisy for Cs to hear T clearly. T told R and J off, for having talked a lot louder than T herself and VY.
Y got the highest score in the Images group. T complimented Y and said that she did so well because she liked to read.

T handed the scoring sheet back to the Images Cs one by one. T commented on each C's strengths and weaknesses.

12:04 T started going over Images' test item by item. T interrupted herself to ask C (who just got back from ESL), in Chinese, what he was doing.
C and S (NEP) are now back in the room.
There are ten Images Cs. T uses English with them all the time.
H noticed some commotion out there and said there was smoke outside the room.
Some boys got up and rushed to the doorway.
T calmed the Images and said if there was danger, there would be fire alarms.
T carried on with her test review.

12:12 L went up to T, to ask a question. J and L had been working hard at their own seats. J went over to L's seat, earlier, to check on her progress. They both are in the Kaleidoscope group.
M went up to report to T what he saw outside of the room. T did not sanction M for having interrupted her.

12:15 P (NEP) has been doing his Chinese homework — three sheets with small boxes to fill Chinese characters in. C (NEP) and H (Rewards) have been at the NEP table. Now they are doing arm wrestling.

12:16 T finished working with the Images. Cs went back to their seats. T and Cs moved about and chatted freely for a couple of minutes.

12:20 T announced that she'd like five minutes to talk about the Christmas party. The Rainbow Cs got up from the LEP table and went back to their seats.
T stood in front of the room, waiting for Cs to quiet down.
T, "By the time C is through talking, it will be lunch time."
T talked about the traditional Christmas luncheon in the room, on the last day of school, and said that this was what she expected the class to do, but Cs should decide whether they liked the idea or not. She said this in English, first, then in Chinese. T went on to say a lot more about the food items for the party, in Chinese. T interrupted herself to tell T, in English, "T, don't show off." T went back to use Chinese, exclusively, until Cs got too noisy. T, in English, "My throat is running dry. You don't want me to have to talk too loud. If I am sick on Friday, you won't have any party." T said this again, in Chinese. Then T talked about the money for the party, in English. T promised making popcorn for Cs on Thursday. T took it upon herself to make arrangements for the luncheon, from the fund to be collected ($1.00 from each child).

12:30 Lunch bell. All Cs went to the door. T turned the lights off and waited at the door. Then, all of a sudden, Cs started turning back. Some announced loudly, again and again, "Go back to your seats." Apparently, Cs were so noisy and so unruly, that T sent them all back into the room. T then let Cs leave column by column, after they had all settled down to their seats. T's silence was very effective in quieting Cs.

(Fieldnotes 12/15/80, pp. 5-8)